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# GRENADA



## REVOLUTION COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Talks by  
**TREVOR MUNROE**



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# **GRENADA REVOLUTION COUNTER-REVOLUTION**



**Trevor Munroe General Secretary  
WORKERS PARTY of JAMAICA**

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Trevor Munroe is General Secretary of the **WORKERS PARTY OF JAMAICA** and the President of the **UNIVERSITY AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION**. He was born in St. Andrew, Jamaica on the 10th December, 1944, son of Huntley Munroe, a distinguished Jamaican lawyer who worked his way up from being a clerk in the colonial civil service, and his wife Muriel.

Having graduated from St. George's College in 1961 as a student at the University of the West Indies, Trevor achieved the B.Sc (Government) degree in 1965 and the M.Sc.(UWI) in 1966. A Rhodes Scholar, he obtained the D. Phil in Political Science at Oxford University, London, in 1969.

In 1964 he led the UWI students demonstration in support of the JBC workers who were on strike for their rights, and in 1965 the demonstration against Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Rhodesia. At this time he was also a leading member of the **YOUNG SOCIALIST LEAGUE**.

In 1968 as a post-graduate student at Oxford University in England, Munroe led the Oxford University students demonstration against restrictions of students' rights at that university. While in the leadership of the **OXFORD COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL INTEGRATION**, he helped mobilise working people to protest discrimination against

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Blacks in the town of Oxford. When Walter Rodney was banned from Jamaica by the JLP government in 1968, Trevor Munroe was one of the leaders of the protest demonstration of Jamaicans outside the Jamaican High Commission in London against the action. On both these occasions he was arrested by the British police.

On returning home in 1969, Trevor lost no time in re-establishing direct links with the struggles of the Jamaican working people for a better life as a co-editor of **ABENG** newspaper and as a leading member of the Independent Trade Union Movement. He struggled alongside the University campus workers to found and build the **UAWU** in 1971.

Trevor Munroe, the Jamaican Rhodes Scholar of 1966, represents in our country and in our region, one of the finest examples of intellectuals, getting their education through the hard work and sacrifices of the working people, and putting that education and training to the service of the people and against imperialism,

Trained as a political scientist, Dr. Munroe is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Government at UWI where he has worked for 13 years. Despite a distinguished academic record and service in teaching at the University, in 1973 he was charged and tried by the UWI Professional Committee on allegations of professional misconduct for associating with the University workers strike of 1972. He was

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acquitted of the charges after a long struggle.

In 1974 he was attacked, chopped and severely wounded by politically-organised thugs on the Kingston waterfront whilst responding to the port workers' request for unionisation by the UAWU. Arising out of this incident a libel action was taken against Trevor and the courts imposed a fine of \$31,000, one of the largest in Jamaican court history. The money was raised through donations from the public.

As the leader of the Communist trend within the Jamaican National Liberation Movement, Trevor founded the SOCIALISM GROUP in 1972, the fore runner of the WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE (WLL) which was launched in December 1974.

The WLL was transformed into the WORKERS PARTY OF JAMAICA (WPJ) in December 1974. As the General Secretary, Trevor Munroe has led the Party through the twists, turns, and difficulties of our peoples' struggles.

Previous publications by Trevor Munroe include:

THE POLITICS OF CONSTITUTIONAL DECOLONISATION JAMAICA 1944 - 1962 (Iser, UWI, 1972)

FROM STUDY GROUP TO VANGUARD PARTY (World Marxist Review)

STRUGGLES OF THE JAMAICAN PEOPLE (with Jon Robotham)

THE MARXIST LEFT IN JAMAICA 1940 - 1950

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(Iser, UWI, 1977)

READINGS IN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE WEST INDIES (with Rupert Lewis, et al)  
THE MAKING OF THE JAMAICA INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION (Jamaica Law Journal)  
THE PEOPLES NATIONAL PARTY 1938 - 1944 (Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis)

CAPITALISM OR COMMUNISM - QUESTIONS & ANSWERS (Vanguard Publishers 1981)

SOCIAL CLASSES AND NATIONAL LIBERATION IN JAMAICA, (Vanguard Publishers 1981)

THE WORKING CLASS PARTY - PRINCIPLES AND STANDARDS, (Vanguard Publishers 1982)

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM, (Vanguard Publishers 1982)

Trevor writes regularly for the Party paper, STRUGGLE. He likes to read and swim when he is not working.

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## INTRODUCTION

The triumph of the People's Revolution in Grenada on March 13, 1979 was a historic victory not only for the Grenadian people, but for oppressed peoples throughout the Caribbean and the World. It proved yet again that any oppressed people, no matter how small their country, no matter how backward their economy, no matter how religious their beliefs, no matter how experienced they are in revolution, no matter how close to the United States - the mightiest imperialist power known to mankind's history - any oppressed people and every oppressed people can and will UNDER THE RIGHT CONDITIONS carry through Peoples Revolution against imperialism.

This is so not only because of the willingness of every oppressed people 'to do or die' when their backs are against the wall but also because oppressed peoples now have powerful and reliable friends in the world socialist community, in the national liberation movements the world over and progressive forces within the imperialist countries themselves. Imperialism remains extraordinarily powerful and deadly dangerous but despite the power and the danger, the success of the first Grenadian Peoples Revolution proves yet again that, sure as fate, the world's peoples are in the process of overthrowing and leaving behind the backward and outdated system of imperialism.

Four and one-half years after the triumph of the Peoples Revolution, the U.S. military invasion of Grenada on October 25, 1983 defeated the first Grenada Revolution and installed counter-revolution in power. This invasion has defeated the revolutionary process that was making Grenada genuinely independent; that was reducing unemployment and other scourges of third world peoples, and was giving the grass-roots Grenadian people a real say, for the first time, in the running of Grenadian society. This defeat has been a harsh, bitter experience, not only for the Grenadian and Caribbean revolutionaries, but for all sections of the peoples who, still under the oppression of imperialism, were looking to Grenada more and more as an example of what improvements a people freeing themselves from imperialist dictatorship may accomplish. It is necessary therefore that full and in-depth analysis of the causes of the defeat be carried out by the Grenadian revolutionaries themselves and by other sections of the revolutionary movement in the region and in the world.

In the meantime a number of things can and need to be said a little more than six weeks after the triumph of counter-revolution: Firstly, the Grenadian Revolution shall rise again for the same reason that the Revolution rose on March 13, 1979 from the needs of the Grenadian people themselves; from the self-sacrificing activity of the sons and daughters of the Grenadian people



themselves; because there is simply no other way for the Grenadian people or any other people, subject to imperialism to come from under its subjection except by taking power from imperialism and its puppets, putting the genuine representatives of the people in power and calling out the necessary changes to advance the interest of the people.

Secondly now that it has been established, not by imperialist propaganda which all revolutionaries must constantly question, but by objective facts that Maurice Bishop was executed, all revolutionaries have to condemn such a crime against revolutionary principle and redouble their resolve to ensure that inevitable differences within the revolutionary movement never reach such a level of antagonism which can only provide imperialism with opportunities to crush the Peoples Revolution.

Thirdly, imperialism and reaction are gloating over the temporary victory and are sparing no effort to use the defeat of the Grenadian Revolution to advance their futile aim of trying to turn back revolution everywhere. This is why Caribbean revolutionaries in particular need to do everything to redouble their solidarity with the Cuban and Nicaraguan Revolutions as well as with the revolutionaries in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala in this hour of great danger from imperialist intervention following on Grenada.

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It is also why revolutionaries and progressive forces everywhere in the region need to redouble their efforts to preserve the memory of the achievements of the first Grenadian Revolution as well as to draw the correct lessons from the triumph of counter revolution. The ruling class, particularly here in Jamaica, led by Edward Seaga have been doing everything to wipe out the memory of Revolutionary Grenada's achievements and to strengthen the belief amongst the masses that Popular Revolution is neither possible nor desirable. They must not get away with rewriting history nor must the Jamaican working people have no alternative to their reactionary version of history.

This publication by the Workers Party of Jamaica is one contribution to strengthen the working people's ability to resist the spate of ruling class propaganda, to keep alive the inspiration of Revolutionary Grenada and to learn the correct lessons from the victory of counter-revolution. It is made up from talks given by Trevor Munroe, General Secretary of the WPJ to the Jamaican working people during the course of the peoples' Revolution and the Imperialist counter-revolution. The first was presented to a public rally in solidarity with the Grenadian people three days after the triumph of the Peoples Revolution. The other three were talks presented to the Nelson Mandela Workers Education Seminar; the first on March 28, 1982, in honour of the Third Anni-

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versary of the Revolution, the second on October 30, 1983, five days after the U.S. military invasion and the third on November 13, 1983, after the triumph of counter-revolution.

These talks have been left very much as they had been presented because despite the subsequent developments their main message remains as true today as when they were given.

Central Committee,  
WPJ  
December 1983.

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## The Grenadian Revolution

Comrade Chairman, Comrade Cheddi Jagan, General Secretary of the PPP, Comrade Manuel Gonzales, representative of the Communist Party of Uruguay, Comrade representatives of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Jamaica, Comrades, brothers and sisters.

This evening our Party is fulfilling its international responsibility to the working people of Grenada, to the working people of Jamaica, to the working people of the Caribbean in expressing our heart-felt solidarity with the People's Revolution and with the Revolutionary Government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of Grenada (applause). In fulfilling this responsibility we are joining with working people in Barbados who at this very moment are having similar meetings of progressive Barbadian people such as this one we are having of progressive Jamaican people. We are joining with hundreds of Grenadian citizens who today in New York in temperature below freezing are demonstrating to the public of USA and to the Government of USA the complete unity and solidarity not only of Grenadians in Grenada but of Grenadians living in USA with the revolutionary government and with the revolutionary Prime Minister (applause).

## POLITICAL EDUCATION

But comrades, it is our duty not only to offer internationalist solidarity, it is our duty as well to try to educate ourselves. To try to learn the political history and political background to the revolution which has taken place in our sister island. It is our duty to beat back what the imperialist press and the reactionary media are already trying to portray, to make it look as if what happened in Grenada on Tuesday was something that had developed overnight, a coup as they call it. Our duty is to show as factually and soberly as possible the deep roots of the Grenadian revolution in the political experience of the Grenadian working people and in the development of their vanguard the New Jewel Movement.

So that our task is not only solidarity, our task is at this moment very seriously political education. Political education because colonialism and imperialism have cut us off from the realities of the working people in other countries close by and in Grenada in particular. And it is our duty to overcome these barriers, to develop such understanding that we will be able to better defend, to better defend, comrades, the Grenadian revolutionary process when the eventual challenges and tests arise in the coming days and weeks and therefore our Party tonight wishes to spend a little time soberly educating, explaining the background to this revolutionary process so that all of us can be properly armed and properly equipped



to defend that revolution and to better understand the process which is taking place in all our countries at this time.

Comrades many of us would be surprised to know that Grenada is a country which is smaller than the parish of St Andrew which is one of the smaller parishes in the island of Jamaica. Its population is fewer than the population in Kingston and therefore we are dealing with a small country; we are dealing with a few people. But we are dealing with a small country and a few people who on Tuesday morning March 13 showed the way to larger countries and to larger people, the way forward in the struggle against imperialism and fascism (applause).

### GRASS ROOT SUPPORT

The roots of the Grenadian Revolution of March 13 goes back to 1951. On February 23, 1951 the workers, the unemployed, the farmers, the young people, the women, all the Grenadian people stopped working in a massive general strike. In a general strike which was a protest against colonialism against conditions of oppression. February 23 1951, the Grenadian people experienced their May 1938. What we in Jamaica had in 1938 they had in 1951. At that time Eric Gairy came forward and expressed the interest of the working people and defended these interests much the same way

Alexander Bustamante came forward in Jamaica in 1938. Because of this Gairy at that time was arrested and was detained by the colonial authority for defending the interest of the working people in the 1951 general strike. The colonials, however, soon determined that in order to cool the people's struggle Gairy should be released from detention. At the time of his release Gairy, like Busta, immediately began to embark on a course of compromise. Compromise with colonialism, compromise with the oppressors of the working people in the years which followed his release in 1951.

### TRADE UNION WORK

The Grenada Manual and Mental Workers Union (GMWU) was formed by Gairy arising out of the 1951 general strike. Grenada United Labour Party (GULP) was formed at the same time by Gairy as well, so that like in Jamaica and like in the other Caribbean territories the people's revolts gave rise to trade unions and to political parties, in this case led by Gairy. In 1952 the first elections were held under Adult Suffrage so that Grenada was eight years behind Jamaica which had had its first elections under Adult Suffrage in 1944. Like in Jamaica the gratitude of working people for what sacrifices had been made by Gairy in 1951 showed itself in the election results. The Grenadian United Labour Party won six of the eight seats which were contested in the 1952 elections. The main support of the Party



came from the masses of the people. The masses of the people, who had revolted and demanded better conditions in 1951. And so comrades, for the next 20 years Gairy won election after election between 1952 and 1974. During that period he won no less than five of the seven national elections that were held, winning with support from the masses of the people, but a support which was increasingly diminishing, getting smaller and smaller as results in terms of improvements of the conditions of the people failed to materialise. By the late 1960s and early 1970s the conditions of the Grenadian people remained much the same as they were at the time of the revolt.

### CONDITIONS

It is important for us to understand what these conditions were so that we can understand the basis of the Grenadian people's increasing revolutionary struggle. Comrades, in 1974, 23 years after the Grenadian people demanded that Gairy should change their conditions and elected him to change their conditions, fifty percent of the Grenadian people were unemployed—one out of every two. Land, the main means of livelihood in Grenada, was monopolised by a small handful of very rich in the 1970s, 20 years after Gairy was ruling, as it was in the 1951/52 period. In 1972, 13,800 poor Grenadian farmers owned 13,021 acres of land. That is an average of less than one acre of land for each farmer.

On the other hand, just as in Jamaica and the other Caribbean territories having the same experience of colonialism and slavery, in Grenada in 1972, 92 people owned 27,828 acres of land. Thirteen thousand people had to divide up amongst themselves half the amount of land that 92 people were able to own and control and enjoy and that was 20 years after the revolt of 1951. Despite five Governments, by Gairy, with the support of the people, conditions remained as they had always been during the period of colonialism left by the system of slavery. And therefore, Comrades, in Grenada towards the end of the 1960s like in Jamaica, like in every other Caribbean country, increasingly the masses, first and foremost the working people, to some extent the progressive intellectuals, became increasingly alienated and turned away from the Gairy government which was failing to meet the material needs of the working people.

### REBIRTH

In 1971/72 Grenada was to experience the rebirth by the people which Jamaica experienced in 1968 and 1969. Many of us remember that in Jamaica in 1968/69 there was the Abeng Movement. This Movement was not peculiar to Jamaica; it was just one sign of what was happening all over the Caribbean in every single territory throughout the region.

In Trinidad and Tobago it took the form of the National Joint Action Committee. In St Vincent it



took the form of the Forum Movement. In all the islands protests against conditions such as were existing in Grenada began to arise.

Comrades it is of importance for us to understand that this resistance that began to develop was not only a resistance which came from the conditions in these territories. Though these conditions were the most important elements in bringing about the resistance it was also the influence of the growing resistance by the world's people to oppression and to exploitation. First and foremost the Black Power Movement in USA, which began to develop a new militancy in 1966, was influential in spurring on the people of the Caribbean to resist those conditions that we have been talking about. Then of course, there were the African Liberation Movements which in the 1960s began to take on an armed character in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. All of these things led to the development of increasing protest and struggle by growing sections of the people against oppression.

In 1971 in Grenada the women led the way. The nurses demonstrated and struck for better conditions of work and for increased wages and that demonstration and that strike was greeted by massive police repression from the Gairy government. This was the signal for the people to develop a new stage, to reach a new level of resistance to conditions of life in that country.

## NEW JEWEL MOVEMENT

In May of 1972 the Joint Endeavour for Welfare, Education and Liberation, whose initials read JEWEL, was formed. In October of 1972, representing the growing resistance, the Movement for the Assemblies of the People (MAP) was also formed. On May 11 the following year these two movements came together, the JEWEL and MAP, to form the New Jewel Movement. May 11, 1973 almost six years today before the successful triumph of the Revolution led by the New Jewel Movement and its indomitable and courageous leader Comrade Maurice Bishop (applause).

We can say comrades that the May 1973 formation of the New Jewel Movement represented in Grenada what the Abeng represented in Jamaica in 1969. What the National Joint Action Committee represented in Trinidad in the 1970s. Movements primarily by the young intelligentsia, progressive lawyers and doctors supported by sections of the unemployed and further supported by sections of the small trading class, the petty business people. That movement six years after, in the course of difficult struggles, in the course of hard and grinding battles of survival, was about to develop closer and closer ties with the broad masses of the Grenadian people and increasingly to isolate the Grenadian dictator and ultimately to accomplish his removal.



## SOLIDARITY

The formation of the New Jewel in 1973 was spurred on by the decision of Gairy to secure independence for Grenada under his dictatorship. In February of that year, 1973, Gairy went to England in order to negotiate independence from the UK and that meant that the working people of Grenada now needed to consider in which ways were they going to ensure that Grenada entered on national independence with a democratic government and not one that was increasingly repressing them and increasingly diminishing their social and economic rights.

In April, one month after the formation of the New Jewel Movement the pent-up energies of the people began to express solidarity with the leaders of the Jewel and with their programme of progressive social change. In that month the New Jewel experienced what every revolutionary movement in the Caribbean is bound to experience sooner or later. Some have already experienced it like the party of Comrade Cheddi Jagan, the PPP. Some have not yet experienced it but all of us sooner or later will have to experience what the Jewel experienced in April 1973. Because in that month the first member of the Jewel Movement, a Comrade by the name of Jeremiah Richardson became the first martyr of the struggle for progressive change. The Comrade, 20 years old, was murdered by Gairy's secret police, a bullet through his brain. He was murdered during

police brutality which faced the demonstrations that began to grow against Gairy's sell-out of the country and his sell-out of the people's struggle to the old ruling class.

In that same month massive demonstrations were led by the New Jewel Movement as a result of Richardson's murder. Five thousand people blocked Grenada's airport for three days. Blocked it and occupied it as a protest against what had been done and as a demonstration to the regime that the people of Grenada and the progressive forces in Grenada were no longer prepared to put up with that kind of brutality. The mass actions led by the New Jewel Movement grew broader and deeper and a convention calling for genuine national independence was brought together by the New Jewel Movement. That convention in May, 1973 was attended by 10,000 people of the working population at that time. So that we can see that the New Jewel Movement from the very first days of its formation was beginning to draw to itself and to bring into sympathy with its objectives broad sectors of the Grenadian people to the extent of 10,000 in May 1973. Later on that year in November, Jewel led a mass movement of people which was gathering momentum and was gearing itself to moving the dictator from power since by this time Britain had agreed to give independence to Gairy and to allow that form of repressive regime to continue during national independence. Refusal to have fair and free elections be-



fore independence was what compelled the New Jewel Movement to gather this movement together in order to force the Gairy regime to recognise the rights of the people.

### CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

On November 4, the Congress of the People was called and attended by 10,000 people again. This Congress, first of all, drew up 27 charges against Eric Gairy. Crimes relating to police brutality against the people, suppression of the political liberties of the people and in particular of the progressive movement and, most importantly, which charged him with social and economic neglect of the people, selling the country to imperialism and to the local ruling class. Secondly, this Congress on November 4 put forward an alternative programme, under the banner "power to the people". That programme was broadly progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist. It had nationalisation of the banks, it had the establishment of an Export-Import State Corporation; it had land reform; it had the necessity of making the government and the state apparatus of Grenada more democratic so that working people could participate more effectively in the day-to-day decisions which affected their lives. And therefore we can say that the programme which was brought forward at that meeting on November 4 was fundamentally anti-imperialist and progressive in its direction. Finally, that Congress of the People made the historic

demand for Gairy's resignation. It demanded that he should resign in two weeks. He should leave the government because he had sold out the people and he was repressing their interests.

### GENERAL STRIKE

On January 1, 1974, a general strike was called. A general strike was called by the comrades in the New Jewel Movement to prove that the concessions which Gairy was making were not enough to meet the people's discontent. And, as had happened in so many different Caribbean countries, the waterfront workers were the most militant, the firmest and the most serious. The waterfront workers in St George's Grenada, went on strike and stayed out in opposition to the Gairy dictatorship for three months. And they only were able to be gotten back when the leaders of the union involved sold the strike of the workers to Gairy as a result of bribery and ideological unclarity. During the course of that strike, the New Jewel Movement again had to experience another sharp and serious blow - a blow - which, in movements which are not really steeled for revolutionary struggle, could have the most damaging effect in turning back comrades and making them lose heart. Because on January 21, Comrade Maurice Bishop saw his father, participating in one of the mass actions, murdered by the secret police of Gairy. Brother Rupert Bishop, father of Comrade Maurice, therefore joined the list of martyrs in the



struggle of the Grenadian people for a democratic and just society.

## DEFEAT

This strike, and this effort of the revolution which began in November 1973, failed. It was defeated. On February 7, 1974, Grenada gained national independence. It gained independence from Britain under Gairy's leadership without any election being held in order to establish the extent to which Gairy continued to have the support of the masses of the people. And it is important, for, since every movement in the Caribbean will experience defeat and will have to learn from defeat, it is important for us to look at some of the reasons why the movement was defeated in 1974.

## SUPPORT FOR GAIRY

First and foremost, Comrades, the movement was defeated by external factors. I ask you to think very, very carefully on the present situation where the movement has been victorious in the first stage but where by no means is that victory assured. In 1974, it was defeated, firstly, by open intimidation from imperialism. At a crucial moment in the people's struggle, the British and the Canadians sent warships into the St George's harbour (St George's the capital of Grenada) in order to intimidate the working people of Grenada. Two British and one Canadian gunboat entered the harbour at that time.

Secondly, the imperialists came to the assistance of Gairy with economic aid, with money, because the strike had reached the point where the Treasury was being depleted; there was no more money left in order to pay the civil servants, in order to pay sections of the public administration. The British came to his assistance with 1,000,000 pounds sterling to pay the secret police and a much larger sum of money in order to keep the civil service going.

*Most importantly, I ask you to remember, most importantly, in 1974 the movement was defeated because the Caribbean governments, including Trinidad, Guyana and Jamaica, came to the assistance of the dictator, Eric Gairy, and provided him with financial means to pay the civil servants, the police; the police which had by this time become the main means of the dictator Eric Gairy maintaining himself in power.*

So that in 1974, comrades, a combination of assistance from imperialism and assistance from governments which had strong capitalistic, predominantly capitalistic influence, combined to encircle the Grenadian people and to help to defeat their revolutionary struggle. Well, we say tonight from this platform of the Workers Party of Jamaica — "No way will 1979 be like 1974!" (applause). We say "No way will we the working people of Jamaica allow the Government of Jamaica in any way to render assistance to the dictator" and we call on them to



render every assistance to the revolutionary movement and to the revolutionary government of Grenada (applause)

### SERIOUS ORGANISATION

And so comrades, the movement was defeated. But every movement, as Comrade Lenin always said, learns more from defeat than from victory. And one of the things that the New Jewel Movement learned in 1974 is the lesson which all progressive movements in the Caribbean were beginning to learn about the same time; which we in Jamaica were learning; the Comrades in Trinidad, the Comrades in Guyana had learned it earlier; but the New Jewel was now beginning to learn.

*That lesson was, and that lesson still is, that in order to deal with reaction, with pro-imperialist governments, it is not enough to have broad support; it is not enough to have the sympathy of the people; it is not enough to be able to get hundreds or thousands or even tens of thousands of people to march and to demonstrate. That is not enough - support; sympathy, numbers and followers is not enough. Because the comrades in Grenada had the sympathy, had the support, had the numbers behind them. But what they lacked, and what they immediately analysed was necessary, was the need for serious organisation.*

Sympathy and support is never enough in order to carry the people's struggle to successful conclusion.

And therefore between 1974 and 1976 the comrades in the New Jewel Movement concentrated all their might on organising, on building that support; on making it a powerful and solid force against the reactionary dictatorship of Eric Gairy.

In those two years, in that small island, comrades (smaller than the parish of St. Andrew in its geography, lesser than the parish of Kingston in its population) - in those two years, Comrades, the New Jewel Movement built up over 50 branches, over 50 group cells throughout the island of Grenada, changing support and sympathy into practical, grassroots organisation. Not only that, the comrades saw the need to base themselves much more firmly on defending the interest of the working class people of Grenada, not just broadly supporting the struggles of the poor but defending the interest of the working class people.

The comrades therefore organised and began to lead active struggles of trade unions, in particular the trade union of agricultural workers representing the effort to organise and not just to agitate. Further, they saw the need to organise special sections of their movement and their party to deal with the special problems of different groupings of the people. And therefore they organised a women's section to deal with the special problems of women within the movement, to draw more women into the struggle, and they also organised a special section for



youth to deal with the special problems of the young people and to draw the youth actively into the struggle. And therefore in those two years they applied the lessons of the defeat of the revolution in 1974 — organising and strengthening their movement at the grassroots level.

### GAIRY ISOLATED

Increasingly, Gairy became isolated. And therefore increasingly Gairy began to rely even more and more on repression and on military force to maintain himself in power. In 1975, the internal repression reached a new level. The Gairy government literally seized, captured the resources of the Nutmeg Cooperative Association. As you may know, nutmeg farming is one of the mainstays of the Grenadian economy and the small farmers in nutmeg one of the most important sections of the people. They had a cooperative and Gairy simply seized the funds from the cooperative when the Treasury had become depleted by his squandering on pro-imperialist ventures.

Secondly, during this time, he passed a newspaper act in his effort to try and crush the progressive movement. In the way that we in Jamaica in 1969 under the reactionary Jamaica Labour Party regime had to experience direct repression on the ABENG newspaper — the persons selling the paper were harassed and ultimately the printery was burn-

ed to the ground. In Grenada, what Gairy did was to pass a law which made it impossible for the Comrades in the New Jewel Movement to publish their newspaper locally. Because under this newspaper act, in order to publish a paper it was necessary for the publishers to deposit a bond of \$20,000 Eastern Caribbean - a bond which was obviously far beyond the capability of a movement of a people which did not include capitalists and rich persons in its membership. So that the attempt to suppress the Jewel by law formed part of the effort to kill it in the period 1974 to 1976.

### MAFIA AND FASCISM

In addition to this, Gairy began to strengthen his links with international reaction. In 1976, he established links with the Mafia, provided protection for people on the "Most Wanted List" of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the United States. A man by the name of Clancy, wanted for \$2million fraud in the United States, went to Grenada; the FBI followed him there. Gairy struck a bargain with this international gangster and simply declared him a Grenadian citizen, thereby putting him outside of the jurisdiction of the FBI.

In addition, in 1976, when most peoples of the world and when most, even liberal governments, were cutting their ties with fascist states, Gairy was beginning to establish his. He made a state visit to



Chile in 1976 - an official visit. And in that same year, 1976, also made a state visit to the other fascist regime, South Korea. So that he was beginning to build up his connections with fascism and international gangsterism, at the same time as he intensified the suppression of the people inside Grenada.

But Comrades, this was not enough. This could not kill the movement of the working people. Because the movement of the working people was based on their determination to get a better life and to throw off the conditions which had been inherited from colonialism. And therefore when the general elections of December 1976 were called, the struggle of the people began to enter a new stage. On December 6, 1976 (nine days before we here embarked on our historic struggle against reaction and imperialism in our national elections), on that day in Grenada the elections were fought in an historic struggle. The struggle was historic because Eric Gairy's dictatorship did everything in its power to crush the New Jewel Movement.

*For example, the comrades were not allowed to use public address systems in the election campaign while Gairy was able to. They were not allowed to use or to have any radio time while Gairy treated Radio Grenada as his own personal mouthpiece. They were harassed every day, every week, every month in the months prior to the election. And*

*5,000 members of the movement were deliberately left off of the voters list.*

And in this way Gairy was hoping to deliver a final defeat through the electoral road to the New Jewel Movement.

## POPULAR VOTE

Despite this, comrades, the breadth of the support that had grown for the movement showed itself in the results of that election. In that election, the New Jewel Movement which had formed an alliance with the other opposition party - the Grenada National Party - in order not to split the anti-Gairy vote, that alliance - the Peoples Alliance, won six of the 15 seats that were contested. *But much more important than the number of seats that were won was the fact that the Alliance led by Maurice Bishop got 48 percent of the the popular vote despite the fact that a number of their supporters had been left off the list and despite the fact that they were prevented from campaigning in an effective way by the Gairy dictatorship. Most significant of all, the Peoples Alliance gained 87 percent, almost nine out of every 10 votes of the 18 year old voters who were voting for the first time in a Grenadian national election.*

So that what this election demonstrated more than anything else is that Gairy's popular support had gotten smaller and smaller and that the popular



support amongst the working people for the New Jewel Movement and for the People's Alliance had grown to a majority. This therefore led to a most dangerous situation, because Gairy then could no longer seek to defeat the movement by elections but his objective was now to get rid of it physically.

### INCREASED REPRESSION

And therefore, Comrades, in the months following, during 1977, whilst we were absorbed in the new stage of our struggle ( the CIA tactics having backfired, our struggle began against the IMF tactics of imperialism) — at that time the Comrades in Grenada were having to face new and intensified repression as Gairy stepped up his determination to ensure that their movement would be crushed. Chile played a major role. The Pinochet junta of fascists came to the aid of Gairy economically, politically and militarily. Emissaries were sent to Grenada to finalise arrangements for training the Grenadian secret police and bringing military personnel into Grenada in order to assist Gairy's military regime. Similarly with regard to the South Koreans, economic aid was also being provided to the Gairy dictatorship in order to buttress it up and to make it more capable of inflicting military defeat of the popular, progressive opposition.

Increasingly, the plans to liquidate the progressive opposition showed itself in more and more repres-

sion as 1978 drew to a close and 1979 opened. Massive searches of all opposition homes; approximately 200 persons were harassed and intimidated in the last four weeks before the Revolution and it became apparent that Gairy was preparing for the final strike against the forces of the people. The Comrades, the people and their leaders, will never and can never wait and sit down in order to be destroyed by the forces of reaction and the forces of imperialism.

*And in Grenada, getting wind of the plans of Gairy for their final destruction, the Comrades in the New Jewel Movement laid the final plans and made the correct decision that when a people have no other alternative to deal with reaction, when a people have no other way to carry forward their progressive struggles, then the people have to seize and to use the historic right of all peoples from the days of slavery down to the present day - the right of carrying out social revolution, the right of carrying out people's revolution, the right of taking up arms in defense of the majority of the people against the minority and its repression(applause).*

Tuesday, March 13, 1979, therefore represents a milestone in a very hard road, in a very hard struggle waged by the Grenadian working people in the previous six years in particular but in the previous 20 years as well. A very hard struggle, Comrades, one



that had defeats, one that had setbacks, one in which their leaders were brutalised, one in which some of their leaders were also killed. But the people did not turn back; their leaders did not become discouraged; their leaders did not become down hearted. Their leaders became more and more determined and more and more certain that one day they would win and that one day the people's struggle would have to triumph and that triumph took place on Tuesday of this week (March 13, 1979) — an historic day for all of us, the working people and the progressive movement of the whole Caribbean and of the whole world (applause).

Comrades, the present situation is one that we need to look into very carefully. United States imperialism, British imperialism, Canadian imperialism well understand that the New Jewel Movement is a movement for social progress, for democratic changes on behalf of the masses of the Grenadian people. They well understand that that progress means a weakening of imperialism and a restriction on the ability of imperialism to exploit the people of Grenada.

### PEOPLE'S VANGUARD

The programme of the New Jewel Movement is very clear. It was put forward in the elections of 1976 and we can be certain that in the days which are about to follow it will become increasingly implemented to benefit the masses of the Grenadian

people. That programme includes three elements which I will mention at this time so that we can be very clear in our minds that the New Jewel Movement is not a handful of people seeking power for themselves but represents the vanguard of the progressive movement of the Grenadian working people.

### NATIONAL IMPORT BOARD

Point number one: The programme of the Movement demands the establishment of a National Import Board to take importation of goods into Grenada out of the hands of the big merchants, the big distributors and exploiters in that country and to put it into the hands of the government and the people (applause).

Through that National Import Board, very much like our State Trading Corporation, the New Jewel Movement seeks in its programme to control food prices and to remove the setting of the prices of food out of the hands of the exploiters of the people and put it into the control of the representatives of the people. In this regard, the importation of the basic commodities — sugar, rice, flour, milk — is in this programme to pass into the hands of the National Import Board.

### LAND REFORM

Secondly, the programme seeks to hand over the land which historically was worked by the slave



ancestors of the Grenadian working people to the use and control of the people themselves (applause). And therefore the programme envisages the creation of food farms which will be used to cultivate food needed by the people and to help solve the problem of unemployment which Gairy for 20 years assisted in creating rather than sought to eliminate.

### CONTROL OF BANKS

Thirdly the programme of the New Jewel Movement for the December 1976 elections, the programme which remains at the present time, seeks to ensure by control of the banks in Grenada, that loans and credits are made available, not to the rich and powerful, but to the small farmers, the fishermen, and the small and medium businessmen of Grenada who need the loans in order to develop their businesses (applause).

### FOREIGN POLICY

And most of all, the outlook on the world, the external orientation of the New Jewel Movement, its foreign policy is a broad and democratic one because it seeks not only to have relations with the imperialist states, not only to have political ties with the political parties of capitalism, but it seeks to defend the movements for progress, the movements for national liberation in Africa and throughout the world and to have political ties, not only with petty-

bourgeois parties, not only with capitalist parties, but as well with socialist parties and as well with communist parties like our own in Jamaica at this time.

### AGAINST IMPERIALISM

And therefore, Comrades, imperialism is very clear that this is something against its interests. This is something which will limit its power among the people of the Caribbean. This is something that imperialism will have to do all in its power to get rid of, to crush and to overthrow. But Comrades, you know, and I know that the power of imperialism today is not the power of imperialism yesterday. And that whereas in 1974 the British and the Canadians could simply sail gunboats into St George's harbour and by that means intimidate the working people of Grenada, in 1979 we can give you a story. In 1979, when the naval boat carrying the representative of the United States to Grenada on the invitation of the Revolutionary Government to see for themselves that no harm was coming to American citizens, when that naval boat appeared on the horizon, and when the people of Grenada were not fully informed as to its purpose, men, women and children with arms went to the shores in order to defend the Revolution and to defend Grenada against imperialism. (applause).

And so Comrades, 1974 is different from 1979. The world has changed, the world has given us Ango-



la, the people have given us the victory in Vietnam, the victory in Kampuchea, the victory in Iran and now our people, the people of the Caribbean have given us the victory in Grenada to join the victory of the people of the world (applause).

### BE VIGILANT

But imperialism, if it does not get its way by armed intervention, by intimidation and threats, will try to get its way in another form. And therefore we have to be very vigilant. We know our Comrades in Grenada are very vigilant but we have to help them to be vigilant. Because you know as well as I that when the strength of socialism in the world, and when the growth of the people's struggle around the world, and when the unity of the Grenadian people does not allow imperialism to simply come in and overthrow the regime, that they will get others to do their dirty deeds.

### MERCENARIES

In this case we wish to alert the working people of Jamaica, we wish to alert the Comrades of our Party, the Comrades of all progressive organisations in our country at this time. We have to be on the alert for the use of mercenaries. The use of mercenaries armed by US imperialism, trained by US imperialism but without wearing the badge of US imperialism. And we have to be very, very clear that imperialism, working with the overthrown dictator, will try to

use the mercenaries in order to get at the revolutionary government. And therefore we wish to declare from this platform, and we wish to make it known that the working people are not only looking out for and opposed to US intervention, because we are hearing a lot of statements that the United States is not going to intervene, that Canada is not going to intervene, that Britain is not going to intervene. But let them understand that those pious declarations are not accepted by us, because we well know from experience, from the experience of the Bay of Pigs in 1961 that imperialism need not itself do its dirty work; it can get mercenaries to do it for them. And we declare that we the people call on our governments and we the people ourselves wish to hold US imperialism accountable for any mercenary attack on the revolutionary government and people of Grenada at this time (applause).

So imperialism cannot do in 1979 what it tried to do in 1974. So too, West Indian governments in 1974 ran to Gairy's aid with money; now they are not able to do that. What they are now doing is to wait and see. But wait and see when there is nothing to wait for (Laughter) and there is nothing to be seen other than what is clear to everybody that the people have triumphed in Grenada and the Revolutionary Government is in power (applause).

### SUPPORT NOW

And therefore, Comrades, we call on those West



Indian governments who declare that they are for the people, who declare that they support movements of national liberation in Africa (Laughter and applause). We say to them that charity begins at home (applause). And we say to them that if you could recognise and if you did recognise, with the support of all of us here, the Revolutionary Government of Angola, then recognise the Revolutionary Government of Grenada now, immediately, not next week (Applause and chants of "Recognition Now")

Comrades we in our Party and all of us in the progressive movement have got to be prepared to make ourselves ready to give whatever support is within our power. We are not the government. Our Party and the progressive movement is not in power but we wish to make it absolutely clear that whatever is in our power to do, and we wish to warn American imperialism in particular, that whatever is in our power to do we shall do it in supporting the just struggle and the just demands of our brothers and sisters (applause).

And let us here tonight learn the lesson that in the struggle to defeat reactionary governments it will not be easy, it will not be overnight; we are going to have defeats and we are going to have setbacks. But in experiencing those defeats and setbacks, let us take the example from the Comrades in the New Jewel Movement. And let us, having educated ourselves as to what really happened in Grenada - the basis of the revolutionary struggle, that it did not

begin yesterday, that it grew out of the people's experience- let us in doing so look with contempt and look with disgust at the reactionary calls of people who aspire to be fascist like Edward Seaga who want to say that we should not recognise the regime in Grenada (Applause). Comrades, let us be clear that Seaga has to call on the Jamaican Government not to recognise the Revolutionary Government in Grenada. He has no choice, absolutely no choice (laughter).

All fascists and aspiring fascists must be afraid of the Grenada People's Revolution. If Seaga came to power and brought in fascist policies, he well knows that the progressive and revolutionary forces in Jamaica would have no alternative but to act in the same way as the NJM did against Gairy (applause).

And therefore we say to the Manley Government reject the call of Seaga, reject the call of Seaga! Recognise the government of revolutionary Prime Minister Maurice Bishop now! We say recognise now, recognise now! Long live the New Jewel Movement! Long live the people of Grenada! Long live the Revolutionary Government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Long live! (Prolonged applause and chants of "Recognition Now!")

March 16, 1979



## The Grenadian Revolution/ The Jamaica Situation

Today I want us to talk about the Grenadian Revolution and the Jamaican situation. I want to talk about these two things because they are very close together though you may not see it right away.

Comrades it was little more than three years ago when, in the early morning — 5 o'clock in fact — on March 13, 1979, that the normal broadcast on the radio station in Grenada was interrupted and what came on the air are historic words for the Caribbean people not just for the Grenadian people. What came on the air that morning was a voice that said, "Attention, people of Grenada. All workers, youth, women, members of the public are asked to gather together at central places and await the armed forces of the People's Revolutionary Army. You are called upon to go with our Armed Forces to make sure that police stations are showing the white flag. The overwhelming majority of them are already filled with the white flag of surrender. Those which are not will have to be dealt with. This Revolution is your Revolution. The freedom coming is for all of us, play your part now."

*And in response to that voice, in every village, in every district, every town of that small island,*

*smaller than Kingston and St. Andrew, the people came out on the street; old and young, women, young girls, workers, moved to the police station without any guns, armed with sticks, stones, machete, knife, surrounded the stations and told the police that, "It's our time now, surrender". And by 4 o'clock that same day it was all over. No violence. Two people died and a third by accident. By that afternoon the people of Grenada had taken over power. And when I say the people I mean the ordinary man in the street, the grass roots had taken over power.*

### SUPPORT FOR THE REVOLUTION

A couple of weeks ago on March 13, that same people commemorated the Revolution of three years ago. And I can tell you because I was there. A crowd gathered at the rally equal to about 500,000 people in Jamaica because it was one quarter the population of Grenada; so that if we were to have a rally that size in Jamaica it would be 500 and odd thousand people. I want you to think about that because the biggest meeting we ever had in Jamaica is Sam Sharpe Rally and that was 120,000.

This meeting that took place two weeks ago in Grenada was two times the size of the Sam Sharpe Rally in 1976, 1977, and 1980. So you don't have to ask whether the people supported the Revolution, that is clear to anybody who wants to open their minds to see what is going on.



## BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

We are gathered to discuss this Revolution and its lessons for the Jamaican situation. The reason it is so important for us to discuss it is because of the experience which we as workers are having at this moment in the different workplaces that we work, in the different communities which we live. The experiences that we are now having are the identical experiences that the Grenadian people were having before March 13, 1979, before their Revolution. Right now there is not a worker in this room who has not experienced personally the high-handedness of management. If there is any such then let him talk when question time come. Workers for example who every day are getting laid off without notice, who are being pushed around; just as we are experiencing it now, so too the Grenadian people used to experience it before March 13, 1979. There is not a man in this room or a sister who has not had the experience of going on strike and when you go on strike the police who are supposed to be impartial, who supposed to be not taking side, take side with the management against the worker. Right now the workers at Lenn Happ have the experience of the police not only taking side but beating the trade union organiser. You know about the workers getting beating but its the first time in years that the actual union man get lick from the police. That is

our experience now and so it was as well the experience of the Grenadian workers before March 13, 1979.

We have the experience right now whenever anything involve workers the Gleaner always print one side of the story, the worker side don't come out; just so in Grenada they had that experience before the Revolution.

## UNIONS - NEGLIGENCE

We have the experience where most of all the union people are negligent and careless, instead of looking after the workers' problem. Sometimes we can't find them. The only time you see them is when the news reach union headquarters that another union coming in. Or when maybe it's time to negotiate a new contract and they are looking for some of the rock back money to get a piece for themselves. So it was in Grenada as well before the Revolution of March 13, 1979.

## COUNCILLOR AND MP ABSENT

We have the experience now where you want to see the councillor to talk about the garbage situation; you want to see the councillor to deal with the road problem; you want to find the Member of Parliament, and the said MP or councillor who used to be in your yard every day, lifting up the baby and kissing him up, and drinking pot water and all those things, you can't find him.



You don't even hear where his office is. So it was identical with the people in Grenada before the Revolution. The frustration that we are experiencing now with the water, with the light and power cuts were similar to their experiences before the Revolution.

And therefore comrades, we need to look how it is that they dealt with their problems, because we want to deal with ours. There is not a man who is satisfied with the present conditions and therefore we have to look at those who were in the same situation and who have tried to do something about it and how they did it because it is the same flesh and blood. The people in Grenada look just like me and you, come from the same Africa, have the same poor level of education, all the conditions we have, they had. In fact, comrades, I go further than that, their condition was worse. Their conditions were worse than the one we are in now. And since our condition is going along the same road as their condition before the Revolution because as sure as faith, and you can remind me later on, maybe a couple of months or a year from now, whether I was right or wrong; but I am telling you today, mark my words, that the worst conditions they experienced before the Revolution we are heading into it right now. And therefore we need to look in a little more detail at exactly what were some of their experiences.

## GAIRYISM

They were under 'Gairyism'. The P.M. as you know, was Eric Gairy and the people there coined a name - 'Gairyism'. Because they had no other 'ism' to describe what Gairy was going on with. I think the people here are soon to coin a name called 'Seagaism' because soon there is going to be no 'ism' to describe the condition that we are going to be under. What were some of these conditions? First of all, just like is now beginning to happen in Jamaica, Gairy was selling out, and when him don't sell, lease the best land in Grenada to foreigners, when the local people could not get anything. It's a small island, smaller than most of the parishes in Jamaica. But however small, the best land, instead of going to the local people, he sold it and leased it to the foreigners. Just like is already happening in Jamaica at this very moment as I am talking to you.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

Not only that, unemployment, which every day we see in our country getting worse as different businesses close down, was 50 percent under Gairy. We don't reach there yet but, under Seaga it is going to get there sooner or later. Right now we are 30 percent, they were at 50, so they were worse just before the Revolution. Under Gairy and Gairyism the wages for the workers was \$50 a month, not a week, \$50 a month and it's



EC dollars which value less than our dollar. Which means that most workers there were getting less than the minimum wage. We don't reach there as yet but the value of our money with the price of all the goods, all the various things in the shop, it's just as well as we don't have any money in our pocket because it can't stretch, it can't buy what is out there.

### HIGHLY PAID POLITICIANS

At the same time that workers were getting \$50 a month, Gairy's ministers were getting \$2,000 a month tax free. And I say, mark my word and you can tell me whether I am wrong later on, we are heading in the same direction. I heard a thing on the radio yesterday about Parish Councillor (PC); that PC who serve one or two terms from here on going to get special allowance and subsidy for doing what I don't know, because when they were there nobody could find them to do anything for the people. Under Gairyism one of the most serious features was that the workers had no form of amenity. That is to say no lunch room, no rest room, these things were unknown. Sick leave, vacation leave, you try and take that, the man push you out into the street, tell you that "there are many unemployed who want you job", and you either take it or leave it. And we can see that already, that is beginning in Jamaica right now.

### CAN'T CHANGE UNION

Under Gairyism it was impossible to change from the union that Gairy was leader of. The union called the Grenada Mental and Manual Workers Union, you should remember the name, the GMMWU, you couldn't change from it - Why? Because Gairy took up with the management to make certain that no proper procedure, no proper poll could be taken to get out the union that he was head of. That was one of the most serious parts of the whole Gairyism that the people had to be living under. And so, in all of these ways the people there were experiencing conditions that are worse than the ones that we are under now. But, conditions which are very much like the direction that our situation is going in. If our situation continues as it is now, sooner or later we will have the Jamaican version of Grenada's Gairyism.

In that situation down there, comrades as you can imagine, those workers who were progressive and those people who were progressive, who wanted to see the country develop and the people progress, were in a situation that looked very impossible. And I am going to show you why, because it seemed that everything was against them. It didn't look like it was possible to change from that particular condition and that particular system. And there are a number of reasons why it looked impossible. So I want us to go down them because some of them are not so well known in Jamaica.



## TWO PARTIES

First of all it looked impossible for the progressives to change the situation in Grenada. It looked impossible because just like here, there were two parties — the parties weren't identical to the Jamaican parties but nevertheless there were two parties which constantly got all the votes from 1951 coming right up to 1979. For example, in 1951 the people voted in Gairy and Gairy's party; his party was called the Grenada United Labour Party — Labour party too. In 1957, they voted him out and put in the other party which was called the Grenada National Party — right, its not me name it, that is the name of the party down there. So they voted in Gairy in 1951, they voted him out in 1957, then they voted him in again in 1961. So from the Labour Party to the National Party in 1957. They voted Gairy in again in 1961; the Labour Party win again in 1961. They vote him out in 1962 and voted in the National party in 1962. Then in 1967, they voted in Gairy again, so the same two parties, the people, over a long period of time were voting in one, voting out another, voting in one, voting out another. So, 1967, they voted in Gairy, and in 1976 they really voted him out but Gairy tief the elections in 1976. The reason why I am going into this detail is because the progressive man or woman in Grenada, looking at this condition from 1951, election after election, would come close to say-

ing, "Bwoy it don't make sense to do anything because the people is either voting for Gairy's GULP or the opposition GNP for 27 years. And it is not just a few people voting either — 70 percent of the electorate was the average turnout over those years". But you see, for the progressive man or woman in Grenada that meant that the people were not satisfied with either one, because you put in one and they hoped that they would give them progress, so they don't give them progress, so they put them out. The people keep that up for 28 years. But there is a limit to how long you are going to do this in and out business. But in the meantime it was very frustrating for those who want to see Grenada develop in a progressive direction because it just looked like the majority of the people were not interested in anything serious.

## TORCHLIGHT

It looked very frustrating, not only because two parties were going in and out of office, but secondly, because the national newspaper named the TORCHLIGHT was spreading propaganda, just like our Gleaner, so that everyday the people are only getting the message from the TORCHLIGHT and that message is the same message we get from the Gleaner, "That imperialism and America is good good; capitalism is our only hope". And the progressive man, looking at the Torchlight company



would say to himself that there is no hope, because the people are being brainwashed by the Torchlight newspaper and the biased message that it was carrying everyday. And that is the second reason why it looked like that there was no hope.

### CHURCH AND RELIGION

The third reason is one that we know very well in Jamaica and that is the problem of the church and religion. If there is one set of people who go to church more than the Jamaican people, is the people in Grenada. Catholic church going back years and years and the Anglican church — together with the other kind of revivalist churches. What made it look so difficult is that nobody went to church more than Gairy. So that the people, not only very religious, but Gairy now, to try and fool the people is a man who went to church; not only to one church, but to every church. So this Sunday he would go to the Catholic church and pray so that Catholic see him. The next Sunday the Anglican church so that the Anglican see him. The third Sunday a next church. Jump revival and promote the poco — directly no one do that more than Gairy. So no worker, looking on, would say to himself, and I talk to the comrades you know, so its not something I read in a book I am telling you about. I talk to Maurice and the leaders of the Revolution down there as to how they felt when they see these things going on, and they felt, many of

them, that there was very little hope. And that is the third reason why it looked so hard and difficult. The first one is only two party; the second one is only one newspaper; the third is that almost everybody going to church and Gairy more than everybody else.

### MONGOOSE GANG AND GREEN BEAST

The fourth reason why it look so hard is because of police. The moment the people step out of line they had their eradication squad which was called the Mongoose gang. And down there when the more progressive leaders stood up, they were shot. Maurice Bishop's father, Rupert Bishop, was actually shot, killed by the Mongoose gang, almost identical to how they killed Roy McGann. What Rupert Bishop was doing, was trying to protect some people, innocent people, and they simply shot him dead. That again would have the effect of making people feel there is nothing that you can do because the moment you stand up for justice they either lock you up or shoot you down. Not only the police, Gairy had the army — again, just like the army here it was trained by the Americans and by the British. He had his army as well. The people in Grenada called the army the 'Green Beast' because of their behaviour over the years towards the people — They were beasts and in their green dress they called them the 'Green Beast'.



## BAN ON PROGRESSIVE NEWSPAPERS

Not only that, Gairy passed certain laws and this is where we see the situation was worse there than here. But I say it again, where we are heading is in the same direction. He passed a law which said that to publish a newspaper in Grenada — he was trying to get rid of the newspaper of the progressive movement — you needed to put down a deposit just like how you pay down on a house. So to publish a newspaper this law which was passed in 1975 said that you had to make a deposit of \$20,000. So if you could not find that \$20,000 and you published the newspaper, it meant that the newspaper was illegal. Again it looked very difficult and impossible. Because the progressive movement couldn't find \$20,000. So they had to find another way to get the paper out and they found the way of doing it underground.

## NO LOUDSPEAKERS

The laws such as you couldn't use loudspeakers. When Gairy saw how the opposition might gather support, he passed a law banning the trade unions and all parties from using loudspeakers which meant you had to go round with word of mouth. You couldn't have any speaker set up in the square.

## BAN ON STRIKES

He also passed a law which removed the right to strike in 11 service industries — what they call essential industry and that was done in 1978. Now before

On top of that all the major unions in Grenada were headed by people who were either reactionary or if they are not reactionary, they defend the interest of the workers inconsistently. They go round the back and deal with management. Settle the thing and then come and tell workers. Like we heard last time we had our Worker Education Seminar from the brethren who was here from the bauxite company. The bauxite workers heard about the settlement on the air. That is when they know that there is a settlement. Well in Grenada all the major unions

## BACKWARD LEADERSHIP

you laugh at that one, let us consider that it is the same thing that the biggest capitalists in Jamaica are demanding right now. Those of you who know of the Serv-Wel case which went before the Tribunal. The management representative, Henriques, submitted to the IDT that every strike in Jamaica should be declared illegal because there is no law making strike legal. So if there is no law making it legal, according to Henriques — who is one of the most learned lawyers in the island — then it supposed to be illegal. That case is now in the Supreme Court before Justice Parnell whom you know well. So that we may be in the first steps of our Gairyism when it comes to the law governing strikes. But Gairy passed that in 1978. Eleven service industry workers would no longer have the right to strike. Looking at that again, just imagine yourself in Grenada before 1979. It just look as if there is no way out.



were under leadership that were like that. Grenada Manual and Mental Workers Union which was Gairy's Union, Waterfront Union, the Commercial and Industrial Union - all the major unions were under leaderships that were backward.

### NO RECOGNITION

On top of that, the progressive unions, when they were formed did not get any recognition. Because what happened is that the management ganged up with the Gairy government and gang up with the major union leadership to keep the progressive union from getting a majority, even sometimes from getting a poll in order to represent the workers

### INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

To cap it all, Gairy was able to get international support. When the people protested in 1973, in the early days of 1974, three years before the Revolution, Canada and England sent warships into the Grenada harbour, St George's, so that the people could see that Gairy had the backing of the Canadian government and the English government. And sad to say, sad to say, at that time as well, it was Jamaica's government - 1974, Trinidad's government, Guyana's government which sent money to Gairy in January 1974 to save him. Because there was a strike of all the workforce, an all-island strike which meant that no tax could be collected and no revenue could come in to pay civil servants or anybody else. The only thing that saved him then was the assistan-

ce that came from the other islands and from Britain and Canadian warships that were in the harbour. Eventually the strike was broken and I will talk a little more about that later on as to why the strike was broken at that point. The reason why I am going into all of this, brothers and sisters is that we need to know the hard conditions under which the progressive movement had to operate before the Revolution. We need to know how impossible it looked. Just consider - two parties monopolise everything; the newspaper everyday injecting the people with capitalism; church and religion everywhere; laws very oppressive, ready to battle down the people; army, not only local but England, America and Canada and the other islands in the Caribbean ready to help Gairy.

### A WAY OUT

But as always happens, if there is one thing as sure as night follows day, when the people are faced with a situation like that where everything just look impossible, first thing that they do is to find a way out and the Grenadian people, the first thing that they did was leave the island. If you go to Toronto in Canada, London in England, or New York in the United States, you will find a population, of Grenadians almost as large as the Jamaicans in those cities. Because the people, many of them said, "We can't put up with this thing, we can't do anything about it, so may as well we leave the island."



## CAN'T BEAT THEM JOIN THEM

Of course there were those who said if we can't beat them, join them. Many, many workers, many many small business people, taxi drivers and so on link up with Gairy because it looked impossible to get him out. You don't batter your head against a wall so we may as well link up with him. But over a period of time after the people try everything, leave the island, join up with Gairy, take the redundancy payment, try to set up themselves on the side, the conditions still get worse. Eventually more and more people decided that, "we have to try and get out this man. It don't make sense we run, it don't make sense we join because that not helping." Many of the pressures were also coming down on the supporters of the GULP and the crumbs that were dropping from the tables of the imperialist were not even enough for Gairy's supporters.

## GET OUT GAIRY

So even they were getting dissatisfied and the effort to get out Gairy started to get serious and it started to get serious from about 1972. Remember Gairy was in power, in and out, from 1951. Nineteen Seventy Two is almost 20/21 years from 1951, in and out of power. In 1972 the people began to see the need to get him out and then as always happens again the people will try everything before confrontation. Because no one likes confrontation, and therefore you try everyway possible to get him out.

## ELECTIONS

The first thing that they tried was elections. The progressive forces stood for elections in 1972 but they weren't able to get anywhere because the elections were not only rigged but all the capitalists gave Gairy all the money. Therefore it was not possible to get anywhere. In fact, the present Minister of Mobilisation, Comrade Selwyn Strachan whom many of you would have seen at our Congress, December 1981 if you came to the public session, he was the one that represented the Revolutionary Government, he stood for elections in 1972 and was beaten. He got about 30% of the votes which was very good under those conditions in the constituency in which he ran. So the first thing that the people tried to overcome the Gairyism is elections. It was beaten down in 1972.

## MARCHES AND DEMONSTRATIONS

Then in 1973 — marches and demonstrations in response to police brutalisation which had taken place. That too didn't work. Then in January and February of 1974, just at the time when Gairy went to England to get independence for Grenada the people went a step further on an all-island general strike. Comrades, I want you to understand that. Every work centre lock down to get him out just like we had it in 1938. Again that was broken, it didn't work. The reason is very important. Not just that Gairy had support but the key union, Gairy and the imperialists buy out the leadership just at the



right time. That union is the Seamen and Waterfront Workers union because the dock workers were the key. If the dockworker is on strike nothing can't unload, to come into the island and nothing can't be loaded onto the ship to leave. The dock workers were holding out and Gairy and the capitalist grab the leadership, give them a money and the strike settle. Ship could unload and the general strike of all the workers was broken and Gairy got away again. That was 1974.

### NEW UNION

Then after that another attempt was made. The formation of new unions, progressive unions since it was clear now that the unions under the leadership of the reactionary elements would always break the strike even when the workers wanted to continue. The progressive forces started to form new unions to see whether they would be able to win representational rights for workers at different centres. That also was blocked because of the ganging up of the management, the government and the established union leaders.

### LAST STRAW

Then in 1976 the last try was made by the people and by the progressive forces in the elections in that year to get out Gairy. Just at about the same time that we were having our elections they were having theirs. Despite all that Gairy did — rigging the voters' list, making his people vote more than once,

banning loud speakers, the opposition in fact got a majority but when you count out the votes, it turned out to be 48 percent. So that they lost according to official result but not according to the real vote of the people. I want us to look into that Election very carefully because there are many things about our election of 1980 which were very, very fishy. In 1976 in Grenada, Gairy lost but him win; the opposition got six seats out of the 15. That was the last straw. *Then the people said, well you try march, you demonstrate, you call general strike, you vote out the man and the man is still there and the condition is getting worse. Well it's only one thing leave and that is to throw him out by a People's Revolution.*

### EXPERIENCE

And I think that it is important for us to understand. We here who are progressive, we here who are trying to guide and to lead other workers to understand what is going on, not only in Jamaica but in Grenada and elsewhere. To learn the lesson of what I have just said because the lesson of that, is that the grass-root man and woman, workers, the people as a whole don't make up their mind easy in deciding to take a revolutionary road and to get out a government by revolution. They don't make up their mind easy — why? Because it is a hard way, it risk your life. And in Grenada the people tried everything before they said it's only one way to get out the man. The man is ruling by the gun, ruling by force, we



have to dig him out by force. So that the first reason why any people turn to revolutionary struggle is experience. Experience of everything else failing and before people experience that don't bother try tell them anything about the revolution because all you are doing is preaching a message that cannot be understood.

### WORKING CLASS PARTY

Secondly, the people need a revolutionary working class party to both interpret the people's experience and to guide and lead them at the same time as learn from them. This is clearly the second lesson from that experience which leads me to look at the people's revolutionary party in Grenada, the New Jewel Movement. I think we have many lessons to learn from how they developed. The first thing to note about this party is that it was started in March of 1973. In other words, it only came up after 20-odd years of the people experiencing the GULP and the GNP. This party could only come about when the people themselves see this in and out business was not really getting them anywhere. So it was formed in March 1973, just about a year or nine months before the Workers Liberation League (forerunner of the WPJ 1978) was formed in Jamaica

in December 1974. Now the first experiences of the NJM after they were formed were experiences of failing, failing in the struggle to break Gairy's hold over Grenada. They failed because they tried to get him out together with the people in

November of 1973 when everybody in the island was marching up and down in protest and again in January of 1974 with the general strike and they failed. And the reasons they failed are reasons that I have discussed with the comrades in the leadership of their party and it is very clear that they, at that point learnt a lesson that we also need to learn in Jamaica.

### NOT ENOUGH DISCIPLINE

Why didn't they succeed? A number of reasons comrades. They didn't succeed because the members of the party in 1973/74 were not disciplined enough. That changed by 1979. And when I say discipline I mean that when the leader say 4:00am it's time to move — March 13 — a man don't roll over in his bed and say "Bwoy I come in my bed late last night", but he moves immediately because he knows that the time has come. In 1973/74 it wasn't so. The party had a lot of people in it who were not disciplined - distributing newspaper today but forget about it next week, on and off, up and down. They wake up on the bad side of the bed one morning, you will not get any work out of them and that is the first reason.

### TRADE UNION WORK

The second reason they didn't succeed was closely related to the first. Namely that they did not spend enough time doing work with the progressive workers in the trade unions. Key reason. You can



see how that link up with how the strike was broken in 1974. Because if the NJM had done the work on the ground with the Seamen and Waterfront Workers Union then they would have been able to get rid of the reactionary leadership, one way or another, to weed them out. But because the party had not done enough work with the work force, the work force was not prepared as much as it needed to be prepared to put the union leaders under manners. And that is the second reason why the NJM was not up to the standard needed in 1974.

### GRASS ROOT SUPPORT

The third reason is also connected. It is that they did not do enough work to build the grassroot support, organising the different villages and districts. Its one thing to have support in general, its another thing to have it organised. You know a man can say everything Trevor say I defend it, but when it come for him and two, three other brethren to form a group to carry the work, its a different business. And so it was in Grenada in 1974. Its support groups were not organised and therefore Gairy was able to get away, strengthen the dictatorship over the people and the NJM was seriously defeated. In 1973 all the present Cabinet Ministers, that is Comrade Maurice, Selwyn who was here, Comrade Radix, Bernard was not there at the time, except for him, all the cabinet ministers were beaten by Gairy's Eradication Squad - the Mongoose Gang.

Caught, beaten brutally, Maurice was thrown bleeding into the jail cell and to humiliate them Gairy's police shave every one of their heads with glass bottle, in 1973. A man who is not serious after that experience say, "Bwoy, this is not for me, better I go do something else".

### LEARNT THE LESSON

All six of them, instead of turning back, they learnt the lesson. And the lesson was that they were just not enough organised and from that moment onwards, from 1974 onwards, even more from 1976 onwards, they reorganised the party basing it on principles similar to the Workers Party and the little book which we have here - is called the Working Class Party — Principles and Standards; it is on those principles that they began to reorganise the party from 1974 onwards after they were defeated by Gairyism.

### SELECTIVE MEMBERSHIP

What did this mean? It meant first of all, in reorganising the party to stand up against that kind of pressure, not everybody who say that they wanted to join the party could come in. They had to be more selective. They had to make sure that those who were going to come into the party were those who would be disciplined. So that when the time come you don't have a whole heap of crowd behind you and when push come to shove every man run and hide. Better you know who going to run and

hide and if its 3,000 man behind you and 300 not going to run, better you have that 300 and you don't fool yourself that it is 3,000 and you give the 2,700 who going to run and hide, things to do that they can do at their yard because that is obviously where they want to be. So this is the first thing that was changed in the NJM. Only those who were serious could come into the party. At the same time those who wanted to do something but never want stick out their neck, don't cut them off. Make them play their part, let them play their role but not sticking out their neck because the moment you give them something to do that make them have to stick out their neck they are not going to do it. So that the party draw the serious members into it and they organised the supporters around it.

### SUPPORT GROUPS

So that the second thing that it did is form support groups in the various villages and districts whose members would not necessarily be known. The members of the support groups who would distribute the party paper called NEW JEWEL who would do other things like fundraising- hold bingo, raffle and such things and donate the money to the party as a supporter but not as a member. Because this man who is prepared to run a raffle or hold a bingo or put on a dance may not be prepared to get out of his bed 3 o'clock one morning when the time come to move. So you don't tell him, "bwoy you can't do anything. You tell him to hold the bingo,

and hold the raffle". And that is a big contribution - but as a supporter, not as a member of the party. So that is the second thing that they did. Organised the support in the various districts in the various towns around different issues. Any issue that affect people like water, like road, they would make representation to the government and if the government don't respond, expose the government and at the same time try and help the people in their little small way.

### POLITICAL EDUCATION

The third thing that they did in reorganising the party is to put much greater emphasis on political education because that is the key. Not just the organisation but the education, and the party newspaper

NEW JEWEL was the key to the education. Over a period of time they were able to sell that paper more than Torchlight which was the Gleaner in Grenada - 10,000 copies were being sold in the island because the people eventually began to see that the paper was talking the truth and that it was giving them proper political education. And on that basis, because of that hard work, after being defeated, when that morning came on March 13, 1979, and the voice came on the radio, telling the people, "come out now, we have already handled the army" because they attacked the barracks first, all the soldier them sleeping, then run leave them gun. Once the people saw that the army was defeated, nobody dead except two - remember 800 man died



in our elections, so don't believe that revolution is bloody and that elections is peaceful — two man dead in the Grenada Revolution and 800 dead in the Jamaican elections. You can tell me which one is better. So that when the time came for the people to respond, they came out, since they had been organised in support groups; they knew that the party defended them and when the Comrade said the Revolution is for you, they know from their experience that it was something for them.

### ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION

This leads me to the last part of what I want to say which is something on the achievements of the revolution. I think it is necessary to spend most of our time on why they went into that, the way that they did, to see what lessons we can learn, more than the achievement because the achievement, while very, very significant, is not so significant for us now since we don't have revolution yet; what we want to know is how to make the system that we are under change. But we need to look at the achievements a little bit. The first thing is that the Comrades in the NJM were very clear that the first task was to get out Gairy. But it couldn't stop there. Because if you move Gairy and it's the same old-time system, then it's the same old time conditions. So that they saw clearly that they had to move Gairy and at the same time put in a new system which would give rights, which give justice, which would

give power to the people. And that is what has been taking place since March 1979.

### WORKERS RIGHTS

For example, on the side of the trade unions, those of you who came to our political education session a few weeks ago would remember what I had said about it then and I am going to repeat some of it now. Whereas before, under Gairy and under the old system when a new union applied to represent workers they would wait months and months and sometimes no poll would ever come. One of the first laws that the new Revolutionary Government passed in May, two months after the Revolution, is that the Ministry of Labour would have to reply in seven days to any group of workers, 51 percent of whom demanded that a poll be held at a particular workplace. Any employer who refused the workers' rights to be represented by the union of their choice, that employer, would be subject to a fine of \$5,000 or two years imprisonment or both. So right there the government showed their colours that when it come to workers rights and unionism that is their priority.

In August of 1979, the capitalist test out how serious the government really was — that was four months after the Revolution. One of them, the man who run the Coca-Cola plant down there decided to kick out two workers. No reason. Just fire them. The workers went on strike to defend their brothers. Again very similar to what is going on in Jamaica.

like at Lenn Happ. The strike went on for over 37 days - deadlock. The management refused to be reasonable, don't want to settle the thing; the management hemming and hawing, the government say alright we give you a chance. Is just two workers, but 30, 40 others on strike and you feel you are going to starve them out? It don't go so. The government moved in and took control of the Coca Cola plant and opened it so that the workers could go back in and work, everyone with their job. The didn't take ownership of it, they left the owner and the same man who used to own it own it now. But they opened its door and made sure that the factory kept running, the workers get their job, get their pay and of course the owner get his profit. I just mention that to show that when a government is serious about the right of workers then this is how it proceeds. No hemming and hawing business. "We give you a chance to settle, meeting after meeting, you don't want to reinstate the worker. You keeping the others starving without any bread out in the street, we take control, we run it with the work-force, you get the profit but you are not going to sabotage." And that is how it was done.

### DEMOCRACY IN UNIONS

Trade unionism has changed up completely from the old time unionism before the Revolution where none of the major trade unions held any meeting to elect union officers. Now every union has their

general meeting in which the work force has a chance to choose and remove who don't serve them or who serve them. As a result today, of all the islands in the Caribbean Grenada is the island that has the largest proportion of the work force unionised. Because the workers are more free than anywhere else to join unions to make representation, and to get improvements in accordance with what the economy can afford.

### SOLVING UNEMPLOYMENT

The second achievement I want to mention in passing is the attacking of unemployment. Unemployment is in every island the worst problem, the most difficult one to solve and the way they are going about it, brothers and sisters, is mainly through the land reform programme. You can't have so many youth idle, and so much land idle at the same time. It is just a criminal thing. So while Gairy had been selling land and leasing it to the foreigners, the Revolutionary government is now on a programme of taking the land that is owned by the government and organising the youths to work the land and to get proper remuneration and so reduce the unemployment as well as increase the production of food so that the more food that you produce is the less you have to spend in foreign money to get food from abroad and of course to borrow money to pay for it. So that is the second thing I would like us to mention and look at.



## THE PEOPLE'S BANK

The third thing is the banks. The government has not taken over all the banks. What they have done is taken over one of the major banks, that is a government bank, the National Commercial Bank, almost identical to ours. But the way that that bank operates is different from the other banks because what it does is specialise in lending money to the small man. The imperialist bank has no interest in lending money to me or you. They only take our money when we put it there and lend it to the big man. The people's bank lend to the people. And therefore the small businessman in Grenada who is trying to set up something and even the middle business can get loans and assistance from the government bank to keep his business going and the government bank in turn makes profit. Before the Revolution no small man could get any amount of money. Gairy, the other government ministers and big businessmen would get all of it to borrow for themselves.

## WORKERS PARISH COUNCIL

The fourth achievement relates to the problem which we experience more than any other problem at present — that our politicians and our officials, once you elect them, are a law unto themselves. You have no control over them, they have no duty to say anything to you, only when the next election come again you see them coming in again, begging you to vote for them. Not so in Grenada. In Grenada they

have now set up a system called the Workers Parish Council. Not ordinary Parish Council - Workers Parish Council. How this system works is that in any parochial division or parish all the workers who live there, at regular intervals, come together in a big meeting and at that meeting it is the duty of the politicians or the official to give a report on any problem that the people may want to hear about. It is not a question of maybe; you must attend these meetings. So that the Commissioner of Police had to go to one of these meetings recently.

The problem that the people were facing; some criminals were in the area where they live and the people felt the police were not doing enough to catch the criminals who were preying on them, stealing their things and breaking into their houses. They summoned the Commissioner of Police to report why those thieves were at large and the people were suffering. The people did not accept the excuse given and demanded that the thieves be apprehended. Within a few days those criminals were caught because the police felt the pressure of the people on them to do their duty.

The head of the Water Commission in Grenada has to report to the Parish Council. The Minister of National Mobilization who was here at our Party Congress has to report to the workers Parish Council and answer questions as to why certain things that should be done are not being done. If the people are

not satisfied then he has to go and do it. This is an important system because it gives the people, the grassroots, the power to demand from their representatives proper account of their stewardship. Of course you don't have any elections. Capitalists are bawling about that, also the imperialists, that you must have elections. But the comrades in Grenada are very clear on this point. That if you have elections under the conditions that exist there now, what that would lead to is CIA violence, violence worse than what we had in Jamaica. And they are not going to allow that to take place in their country. At the same time they make certain that the people have a voice, that the people have a say, that the people can hold to account any government minister or any civil servant or any police or soldier.

### SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

These are some of the achievements which I think we should mention. They are achievements which are only taking place now because the People's Revolution has conducted itself in a particular way, and when I say that I want you to understand the way that they have conducted themselves. First of all none of those comrades who have now taken over the government and are Ministers live in any big house with a whole heap of things in it; whole heap of car, eating out the people's money. I can tell you. I have been into the house of a Minister in Jamaica under the last government, a Minister in Grenada under the present government, Minister in different

countries and I see no people live so humble as how those Comrades in Grenada live. Just an ordinary man, because he sees himself as a servant of the people. And this is the first thing. It might look simple to you but you can check whether a man is genuinely for the people by seeing how far he looks after himself first when he gets in. And if you put in a man and overnight he begins to dress differently, drive differently, look different, then you know that he is really looking out for himself. You put in a man and he remains the same and you know that is not really himself he is dealing with, he is dealing with the people's interest.

### FIRMNESS

The second thing is how they have dealt with those who have tried to overthrow them. I want to say a little bit about that because we have experience here, between 1974 and 1980, of how our government dealt with those who tried to overthrow them. And we have experience of how Maurice is dealing with those who try to overthrow the People's Revolution in Grenada. The first thing is that there is no 'friendism'. No 'friendism'. You could grow up with him, you could be a leader of the NJM, you could have been a member for many years, the moment you step out of line and start to betray the people, out with you. And I say this because I feel it. When I see some of the things people next to Manley were going on with. You tell him what they doing and he says to you, "boy he don't see" it or "is a man he



knows long time?" Like David Coore, or Vivian Blake and those people. And when I look at how Maurice deal with man who was leader of the NJM who step out of line - out with him and if he don't behave himself after that, lock him up. Because is the people's interest at stake. And the choice is going back to the old time system or going forward to a new system. And don't matter how me and you friend, if you want to go back then you come out and you still keep it up you gone inside the caboose, lock you up. So there is a firmness, not in words but in deeds.

### THE SUPREME LAW

The propaganda against the Revolution was as great as the propaganda against the Manley government. In fact it get greater now. In one month alone, in June 1981, the Comrades analysed 144 different articles in the capitalist press attacking the Revolution. Inside Grenada, the TORCHLIGHT newspaper; when they looked in Jamaica and saw how the GLEANER got on with the Manley government and get away with it they say "Well we can do the same thing too". GLEANER in Jamaica attack freedom of the press, tell people lie, poison their minds. Michael say, "Alright next time". So TORCHLIGHT now in Grenada do the same thing. They publish stories, blatant lies. One of them said that the "Soviet submarine base is in Grenada". Another that "Revolution is going to get rid of Rastas". The government called them in and

warned them. They didn't take the warning. Instead - published more lies. So the government was forced to close them down. Not because they want to, but because they have to if the people's Revolution is going to be saved and the people's Revolution is the supreme law.

### ECONOMIC SABOTAGE

The American imperialists have carried out a campaign against Grenada to block any money going there. They tell the governments of Europe - don't give them anything and international institutions like the IMF not to have any agreement with them. Instead of drawing back, the Revolutionary Government went forward, sending people to every country meeting with the leaders to show that what the American imperialists were saying are a pack of lies and ultimately being able to defeat the American imperialists from blocking aid to Grenada. Just by mobilising instead of retreating. So that in the IMF where Grenada had to apply for loans, and had to fight to get conditions which would allow them to struggle forward and not go backwards, unlike how we bow down to the bad conditions that we had; when push come to shove America was the only country that voted against it. Twenty one members of the IMF board - 20 for, one against. The Revolutionary Government went out there, mobilised, showed the truth, told the facts and America couldn't prevent

the aid from coming, especially the airport which is now being built, a major airport which will benefit the people.

## PEOPLES MILITIA

Terrorism, just like we had, so they had it.

The arms come from America, come from Miami; money and bombs for the terrorists - counter revolutionaries. In June 1980 just before our

elections, at about the same time that they assassinated Walter Rodney, they blew up a bomb in Grenada. It was intended to kill the whole leadership for they were at a mass meeting and the bomb blew up right under the platform. Luckily the platform was very thick, and unlucky in that three young girls were killed and 100 persons injured. When the revolutionary leadership

saw, what they did? Run to their house and bawl and say "Boy we better draw back because it look like them getting serious, because some of us could have died, awhile ago!" No! Immediately

they go on the air and call the entire people to mobilise themselves, to join what is the National Home Guard here but what was called the people's militia there. They didn't draw back-Firm, not in words but in deeds. Thousands of people volunteered because the people are always ready to defend something that is in their interest, it's just the leadership that needs to give them the opportunity and give them the lead. Thousands of peo-

ple came to the militia and immediately the People's Militia was organised. The man in the street had his regular training and his weapon.

## ARM THE PEOPLE

And if you want to know whether a government has the support of the people, don't bother watch how people vote. One test you apply, and that is whether that government can distribute arms to the people. And I dare President Reagan to distribute weapons to the American people like how the Grenadian leadership can distribute weapons to the Grenadian people and feel safe, not only safe but safer, because the people have weapons; or like Fidel where one million Cubans have weapons ready for the Americans to come. Or like in Nicaragua right now where over 10,000 join in the militia. That is the test, because if you are doing things which hurt the people then the people will be against you, and if the people are against you and they have weapons then you are supposed to be afraid. But when you know that you are doing everything for the people and that the people are benefitting and can see it, then you know that you can have your people's militia to defend the Revolution and defend the Revolutionary leaders.

The plan for the military invasion that the Americans are now putting forward, the people are very ready for them. I don't say that the Ameri-



cans couldn't beat the Grenadian people because Grenada is a dot, you can't see it on the map, just a spot. So they could literally deal with it in one minute but in that one minute it's a whole heap of fighting. Everybody in Grenada will be there to defend their revolution and the rights that they have won and the whole world will turn around on the United States and condemn it. It's not like in the old days.

March 28, 1982

## Giving you the facts

Comrades, our session today is aimed at giving you the necessary facts; giving you the necessary arguments to defend yourself, to defend your party and to defend the people of Grenada against the kind of attacks that are going to become much more vicious in the next few days and in the next few weeks. I want you to follow me very, very carefully so that you can understand as fully as possible, the different aspects of the crisis in Grenada and the different aspects of the problems.

I want to start with the death of Comrade Maurice... then deal with a number of other things that are related to that.

Comrade Maurice was killed on Wednesday, October 19. By Wednesday night, October 19 and more so by Thursday morning, October 20, the story had gone out, first of all from the Gleaner, and secondly the other sources like the Gleaner in the Caribbean, that Comrade Maurice had been executed or assassinated.

I must say to you that today, which is October 30 there can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Jamaican people; the overwhelming majority of the workers in the factory, of the people in the communities totally accept the version of what happened as an execution or an assassination.

The first thing I have to say is what was said from the Press Conference that we held on the day after Maurice's death. And that is, if the Comrade was executed and if he was assassinated, then we cannot agree with such a thing, we are against it and we condemn it. I want to start there just to refresh your memory that we didn't have any doubt from the first moment that if that had taken place, then this was a wrong thing to do.

#### ALWAYS DOUBT...

The second thing Comrades is that we have learnt — and I really hope that you have learnt by now—that whenever anything comes from the media which is controlled by the reactionaries — whether it is a report of a strike, whether it is a report of a police shooting, whatever it may be — if you are really conscious and serious, your first reaction to that report must be to ask yourself whether 'is so it really go?'

Use your experience to doubt anything and everything that you hear coming from the media which is controlled by the big capitalists, by the reactionaries...**ANYTHING AT ALL THAT IS CONTROVERSIAL.** Our experience has shown us too often, that what they say is not what really happened. Therefore, in relation to that execution story there are a number of questions that you should ask yourself and you should ask others.

The first question is: if my deputy plans to execute me, or assassinate me, would he wait until

I am out in the open, with scores, hundreds of people who would in one way or the other be eye-witnesses? That is the first question I ask you to ask yourself.

#### LOOK AT THE SECOND QUESTION

Here we have a situation where whether you agree with it or not, Comrade Maurice was in confinement under house arrest between October 13 and October 19 which means that if the Deputy or the clique or the faction wanted to kill him, they had the 13th, the 14th, the 15th, the 16th, the 17th and the 18th. They could have backed him up in a room, shoot him, put a gun in his hand, then wait two days so that the story could be properly prepared and a press release ready, that Cde Maurice Bishop was shot while trying to escape from detention.

So I ask you to ask yourself that second question, if an assassination or execution was planned, why not in private, where there was nobody to see for the six days that he was being held?

The third question that you have to ask is: why isn't JBCTV and the Gleaner publishing all the eye-witness accounts so that all who said they saw could be heard by us the citizens, or we could read their account of what happened? Only one version has come, and it is the version of assassination and execution.

I know for a fact that JBC TV did an interview with a Jamaican who was working in Grenada, who



was Manager of Grencraft — Grenada Craft — He told them what he saw. He told them that he saw the crowd with Maurice going up to and into Fort Rupert without a shot being fired, and then soon after that the armoured cars, going up the same hill into Fort Rupert. What he said was that the first shots that he heard fired were not the machine guns, not the shots from the armoured cars, but the automatic rifle fire of the AK-47 which is the Soviet equivalent of the M-16. Why after interviewing the man and he tells you that, you don't put that on TV too, so that we can hear the different versions and make up our own minds.

You also need to ask if they were planning to overthrow or get rid of Maurice, why did they not do it between the morning of September 26 when he left the country and the morning of October 7 when he returned. Anybody looking to seize power could have done it then without any hullabaloo, without any problem such as has happened now.

Therefore Comrades, because I personally and our Party have not got satisfactory answers to those questions we cannot jump up like the leadership of the People's National Party and agree with Seaga that assassination and execution is what took place. We have to sift the facts, and look at the other version — the version which said that at the Fort there was a confrontation in which Comrade Maurice and the others fired first and in firing first killed three of the soldiers on the spot and a fourth died later on.

Some Comrades will say, well how is that a reasonable thing to do for a man to fire first in those circumstances? My answer to that is... Why go to Up Park Camp or Newcastle which is the equivalent to Fort Rupert in Jamaica. If your intention is to talk to the nation so that the nation can hear your side of the story, then you head for Radio Free Grenada, you would go to the radio station, take it over and say, 'This is Maurice speaking, this is what happened, this is the problem, this is my proposal'. Instead they go into the headquarters of the army. We have to look into that version rather than close our minds.

We have to ask ourselves, that if there was no confrontation and no clash between two sides, why then did GLEANER wait until Saturday, October 22, to publish the official account of what happened on the 19th.

It is quite obvious that their plan was to ensure that their version, sunk into the people, became totally accepted by the people. The fact that that story was put out by the reactionaries and believed firstly by their followers is not strange to us. Because, whenever any killing takes place, whether in the community or in the lock-ups or wherever it is, the reactionaries will always put out a version of the killing to suit their interests.

#### THEIR OPINION

So it is no strange thing or surprise that the reactionaries would have put out a version of this

which would justify their opinion which they are trying to inject the people everyday with, that revolutionaries are murders .

### NOT DONE ENOUGH

What is a little surprising is that so many otherwise conscious and progressive people could immediately jump on to the story of the reactionaries and believe it as if it is gospel truth.

It means that we have not done enough work of political education, we have not done enough work of building the consciousness — even of those closest to us — so that immediately their first response to anything coming from the source of reaction is to doubt it. So I have to say, we really not as progressive as we thought . We should have been developed to the point to question the thing, to get the other side of the story before coming to conclusions.

### WHAT IS GOING ON

I look at the Peoples National Party, the leadership of that Party: believe me, when history is written, their role in this moment is not going to be a pretty one. Up until now, October 30, 1983 the leadership of the Peoples National Party cannot come to any consensus or agreement as to how Roy McGann was killed three years ago a little more than 10 miles up the road, but within one day of Maurice Bishop being killed, all of them are

agreeing with Seaga that it was an execution and assassination; that it's a clique.

I say there must be some other reason why they run to agree with Seaga. It can't be on the basis of an investigation of the facts, because the facts are still not fully known and therefore could not justify a conclusion as to what could have happened. And comrades, I really have to ask those of you who were in that party and who still are sympathetic, to ask yourself, what is really going on inside of the PNP that they could find themselves in such total agreement with Seaga save and except for one point, namely the support for the American military intervention.

### SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES

The second thing I want to deal with comrades is the problems inside the New Jewel Movement. Because these problems have a lot of lessons for us. It is even more important for us to understand the problems and learn the lessons because what the reactionaries are telling us is that what you had was a hardline and a softline. Now let me give you the facts. The Revolution, in September of this year was in serious difficulty and serious problems.

I am going to give you an example of the seriousness of the problems that they were facing. One of the most important, if not the most impor-



tant organisation of the Revolution, to keep it going and to carry it forward was the National Women's Organisation (NWO). The NWO had a membership of about 8,000, about one in every four adult Grenadian women were members of the NWO. It was a very, very, important organisation because that is what helped to make the women conscious, to allow them to play an active role in the Revolution in all respects. By the end of August of this year, the NWO, like the other mass organisations of the Revolution - like the National Youth Organisation (NYO) for example, the Pioneers for the children, the Trade Unions - was almost totally in collapse. The membership had gone down and it was not doing anything.

The leadership of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) together with Comrade Maurice Bishop - everybody, not one faction or one clique - met in a series of meetings from the middle of September to try and analyse what is the problem. Why the NWO was breaking down in that way; why the Trade Unions were breaking down; why the other organisations which are of such great importance to the Revolution were breaking down. The comrades met in a series of meetings between September 17 and September 25. They came to certain conclusions which were totally agreed to by Maurice, by Bernard Coard, by Selwyn Strachan, by the overwhelming majority of them because the situation was very serious.

The first point was that if changes were not made, the NJM would totally breakdown between three to six months. They looked at the Women's Section of the Party which had done such great work in building up the National Women's Organisation in the first four years of the Revolution and they did an assessment of the conditions of the Women's Section of the Party. What they did was give out a questionnaire to find out what was the problem.

This questionnaire was filled out by 25 women who were party members and it was analysed by the Women's Section of the Party. What it found was that of the 25, 17 were experiencing major health problems as a result of the extraordinary workload which the Party was piling down on them - along with the men as well; but the women in particular had this hell of a burden.

### OVERWORK

The questionnaire revealed that the women were experiencing the following major types of health problems: Dizziness, stomach pains, asthma, allergy, sinus, arthritis, frequent colds, high blood pressure, anaemia, migraine headaches, etc. This was in the section of the Party that was responsible for building up the key organisation the NWO. When they further analysed the political work that the women were being asked to do, what they discovered was that the overwhelming majority of

the women in the Women's Section of the NJM had no night in the week at all when they were not required to do political work.

### PRESTIGE FAILING

They found that the women on weekends were being asked to attend study. This is reasonable, because every revolutionary party has to have ideological study to increase the consciousness. But, in addition to that, they were being asked to do house to house community work. In addition to that, they were being asked to do militia duty. In addition to that, each day during the week there saw some political work or task to carry out. These women in addition, had to do housework; having to wash, to cook, to clean house, to look after children. The result was that almost every single one of them was breaking down and could not carry out the work which they were being asked to do.

The people who were not members of the Party in the communities were looking on and seeing what the women members of the Party were being required to do and what was happening to them. They said, 'This Party is not for me' because it look like if you become a member of the New Jewel Movement, despite how much consciousness you have, you can't have no children because you don't have the time to look after them; you can't lead a normal life because you going to break down

with health problems and other difficulties. The Party's prestige was therefore falling amongst the people, particularly the working class women in the communities.

And I am only going into this example and giving you the details to show you that there was a serious crisis and that everybody in the Party agreed that this crisis was serious and that what was urgently needed was a series of measures, to overcome the breakdown in the Party because if the Party breaks down the Revolution will break down.

Comrades, what the meetings of the Central Committee agreed, is that the New Jewel Movement needed to urgently pull up its socks and apply the principles of the revolutionary party in a more scientific way. This thing has serious lessons for us because at our Second Congress in December of 1981 we detected certain weaknesses in our Party which were very similar: that we were overloading the comrades in the Party with too much work, breaking them down. Those in the communities, the workers in particular; one of the reasons that they weren't coming to the Party was that it would seem that if they come into this Party, the kind and amount of work they would get, they just wouldn't be able to manage it.

### NO POWER STRUGGLE

So that on September 25 the Central Committee of the NJM plus those who were full mem-



bers of the Party had a meeting which went until midnight on that Sunday night. They said, "look we have to pull up our socks and apply our principles to the letter". They decided that they had to improve and I want to outline these three areas to you very briefly so that you can know what was going on and get rid of this foolishness out of your head about power struggle.

### TASKS

First, the Comrades said, "We have to change up our approach to giving out tasks and to planning the political work of the individual members. No longer can we continue just saying 'Comrade, this thing needs to be done, therefore you must do it'. We have to begin to understand that there are 24 hours in one day; a certain number of that you have to sleep; a certain number of that you have to spend eating — there is a limit to the time left to carry out political work; that women have special problems; older people have special problems and therefore these things have to be taken into account in the work that is being allocated." That was the first thing that they said needed to be totally changed.

You don't hear anything about that in the GLEANER or those other places. All they are concerned to tell you is that it is power struggle. What I am telling you — and I have seen minutes of the meeting — is that this was one of the major problems for which this solution was put forward.

### CRITICISM

The second problem related to the difficulty of criticism and self-criticism. This is one of the principles of a revolutionary party. In a party like the Jamaica Labour Party, or in a party like the Peoples National Party, such a principle is unknown. In those parties criticism only goes from one direction: and that is from the top down to the bottom. Revolutionary parties require that everybody has the right to criticise anybody else and to get them to take the steps necessary to make up for whatever mistakes they are making.

What the New Jewel Movement agreed to on September 25 is that this principle of criticism and self-criticism had broken down in the Party. And, because it had broken down Comrade Maurice was not getting enough fraternal criticism for weaknesses which he himself admitted — and it is on record in the minutes — that he had and which needed to be corrected. One of the weaknesses which he admitted, and which everybody agreed to, and which everybody took part of the blame for was that his leadership was too soft; his leadership was not sufficiently firm and decisive; his leadership was too hesitating.

Now this is not what Bernard Coard or Trevor Munroe or the hardline is saying. This is Maurice himself. So he himself said, "I think you all need to

criticise more so that I can get help to correct the second area in which the NJM agreed they needed to pull up their socks.

#### UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT

The third area had to do with collective leadership. What the Party said, and what Maurice

agreed to, is that he had certain strong points and certain weak points: Bernard had certain strong points and certain weak points. Let us divide the

labour so that my strong points, can benefit the Party more and Bernard's strong points can benefit the Party and the weak points in each remain in the back. That is how the business of joint leadership came up; as a means of trying to overcome the crisis in the Party which was breaking it down.

I just wanted to touch on this comrades so that you can know that there was total agreement; there was no faction, it was a near unanimous decision of the Party membership.

The NJM agreed on about nine or ten different steps which had to be taken. I have only mentioned a few. It was not a power struggle. Rather it was the Party coming to grips with the difficulties and saying we have to introduce these measures quickly otherwise the whole Party is going to be destroyed and with it the Revolution. These measures were agreed to on September 25. Maurice leaves on the 26th and he returns on

October 7. On his return he then says that what he had previously agreed to, he does not accept anymore. That is where the crisis begins to develop and worsen. Between October 7 and October 12 everyday and every night there is reasoning among the leaders as to how to arrive at some peaceful solution to the situation where the leader of the Party and the Party members had both agreed that certain steps needed to be taken but then later on the leader changes his mind and the members remain firm. So that the crisis really developed between October 7 and 12th.

Remember the point I made before, any plan to overthrow could have taken place between the 26th and the 7th when Maurice was out of the country. Just like when Gairy left, that was when the Revolution overthrew him. If there was an intention to put him under house arrest, as soon as he returned to Grenada he could have been locked up. Instead, from the 7th to the 12th, there were reasonings, discussions to try and come to some proper peaceful solution to what was now a crisis.

Then on October 12 two things happened. One there is an attempt by a capitalist element in Grenada by the name of Bullen to seize one of the militia stations. The militia stations are where the arms are stored for the militia so that when the time comes to call out the militia to defend the country, arms are in different stations so that the citizens can go



and get the weapons to defend the country.

The same day, Maurice's personal security — the people assigned to guard him and to ensure that no harm comes to him — gave a sworn statement that while peaceful discussions are taking place to try and solve the problem amicably, Maurice had given one of them a list of names of key people to contact and tell that his assassination is being planned by Coard and his wife, Phyllis.

Therefore, when the Party got the sworn statement, at the same time that this attempt was made to take the militia station and to get the arms, they immediately had to call a meeting of everybody in the Party to decide, 'what are we going to do.' That meeting took place either on October 12 or 13th.

#### EVIDENCE PRESENTED

At that meeting the evidence was presented including the sworn statement of the personal security. At that meeting Maurice had a chance to speak and be heard and he spoke for 45 minutes. At the end of the meeting, not the Central Committee clique or Bernard Coard, but the entire Party membership that had assembled was sufficiently convinced of the evidence that they said, "If our leader does this thing, which could immediately lead to civil war, then he has no right to be on the Central Committee of the Party and he has forfeited his membership of the Party." Because what it means if he does that thing, is to turn

against the Revolution.

That was the decision of the general meeting, the Central Committee said no, "We are not going to implement the expulsion. Let us check out the evidence further, and the problems we were faced with, could we have the leader on the road, able to create more attempts to seize militia stations and create more possibility of a civil war?"

The decision was that this could not be allowed; that while the case was being investigated he would have to be put under house arrest.

Many of you here will remember 1977 in Jamaica, when the rumour hit the streets that DK was not trying to kill Michael, but to overthrow him; that DK's life literally was in danger. At that time he took the decision to resign as General Secretary rather than continue in a situation where rumour was out there and being believed.

I can therefore well understand that in a country which is in the midst of a revolution where weapons are out there in order to defend the revolution, the rumour goes out from influential people that the deputy is trying to kill the leader; there is no doubt at all that what you would have had is a civil conflict with arms on either side and bloodshed flowing in the streets more than in fact happened.

So that this business of house arrest, I ask you to consider what else could they have done in the circumstances where they had sworn statements concerning what the leader had been doing and in

the circumstances where the result of that was already seen to be one attempt — even before the rumour hit the road — to take arms on Maurice's behalf from a militia station. Therefore the house arrest went from the 13th until the 19th.

While Maurice was under arrest for the reasons that I have outlined, two things happened. One, the Foreign Minister, Unison Whiteman, was in touch with Barbados saying that he had resigned and why he had resigned. The second thing that has come out is that the American imperialists and the Barbados government of Adams were at that point considering how to go into Grenada to rescue Maurice. I go into those details so you as members and supporters of our Party and sympathisers, can understand that there were serious difficulties which the Party as a whole assessed to be so grave that the Party would collapse unless certain measures were taken. Measures with which Maurice agreed. Only one of those measures involved joint leadership. The rest of them — which nobody in the press has mentioned — dealt with other things and I have mentioned to you one or two of those things.

### INVASION

The third thing that I want to deal with is the American invasion. In March of 1982 when we had a session on Grenada, we pointed out that an American military invasion of Grenada had been planned long ago. Maurice himself pointed this out in November 1981, after the US war manoeuvre in July

called 'Amber and the Amberines'. That blueprint which was practised, rehearsed in 1981 is exactly what has happened in 1983.

So this foolishness about the Joint Chiefs of Staff and President Reagan working through the night of Monday to develop a plan to implement on Tuesday—they must really believe that we are a set of idiots to swallow a story like that. For over two years, the American imperialists have been preparing for a military intervention since everything else they tried had failed.

They tried the economic sabotage which they had tried on Manley here. It worked here, but it didn't work in Grenada because the first factory that they had closed down, the government went into the factory, kept it open and put the worker, in it on behalf of the people.

They tried the newspaper propaganda sabotage, like what was done here and as soon as that was tried, terrorism; put the bomb under the platform that killed so many youths and almost destroyed the entire leadership—that failed as well.

The only thing left for the Americans to do was military intervention. The New Jewel Movement and the Revolutionary Government knew this and therefore had to prepare sufficiently in terms of weapons and arms so that the people would be able to defend the Revolution.

I don't want any of us to be confused on when this thing started. The American Ambassador to



France let it out that the operation was planned two weeks before it actually took place. Of course that has been denied but in fact the invasion had been planned long ago.

### DISGUISE

Seaga and Adams, what they did, and the woman Charles, was to provide a thin disguise to cover up what was an American military intervention against a sister people trying to make a revolution but experiencing difficulties. That is why the entire world has condemned this thing because everybody who has any knowledge of the facts can see Seaga is using an excuse, when you actually look at it. All decisions of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States must be by unanimous agreement, not majority vote. Grenada is a member of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States.

Grenada was not even invited to the meeting much less to participate in it, much less to agree to a decision to have a military intervention against itself. So that in black and white it is absolutely clear that they have acted in breach of the very Treaty that they say justifies what they have done. And if you look at the CARICOM Treaty too, you will see the same rule. There is no provision to suspend anybody or to expel anybody and decisions have to be taken unanimously.

They are trying to cover it up by talking about the Governor General having invited them. This again Comrades, we can see through because there

is no way that Sir Paul Scoon, the Governor General could have told Adams, the Prime Minister of Barbados, "We want a Caribbean and an external American force to intervene in Grenada," without Adams telling that to the British government to help persuade Thatcher that she should join in the invasion.

It is just completely inconceivable that he could have told Adams that, and Adams contacted the British government without telling them that this request for intervention was coming from their own representative inside Grenada. So I think we have to see through that as an attempt, after the event, when they see the amount of hostility in the world to it, to try and cover up what really happened.

At this time as I am talking to you, there are between 5 and 6,000 American troops inside of Grenada and another 15,000 on ships around the coast. We need to remind ourselves of the size of this country and the size of the population in order to understand what 5 to 6,000 American troops inside the country really means. Grenada is smaller than the smallest parish in Jamaica. The smallest parish in Jamaica is St. Andrew with 166 square miles. Grenada in here, inside the parish of St. Andrew and still have space. And of the 14 parishes in Jamaica, only six of them have less people than in Grenada. Eight of the parishes in Jamaica have more people than in the entire country of Grenada.

Now I going into all of this so that you can understand what 5 to 6,000 troops inside of that country means. Put another way, the Americans have landed on the soil of Grenada the amount of soldiers which would equal about 5 percent of the population of Grenada.

If we were to have an invasion like that, with 5 percent of the amount of the Jamaican population; the number of soldiers coming here would be 100,000 striking US Marines. Just think about it, the equivalent of 100,000 inside, and 300,000 around the Jamaican coast is what is happening in Grenada now. Just consider that.

### THE PEOPLES RESISTANCE

I go into this Comrades so that you can appreciate the extent of the resistance by the Grenadian people. At 9 o'clock on Tuesday morning a statement on JBC from Jamaica House said that the invasion which started at 5.30 a.m. was completely successful; all objectives had been met and the total cost was one person wounded. After that, somehow, these Grenadian people, who had been totally defeated according to Seaga at 9 o'clock on Tuesday morning, resisted to the extent where the first group of soldiers that came in, 1900, was not enough. They had to bring in an additional set the 82nd airborne paratroop division — and you should know a little about this. This 82nd airborne paratroop division is the best thing that the American

army has; there is nothing that they have better than that. And then when that was not enough, on Thursday they had to send in another 1,000 troops. And when that was not enough, on Friday they had to build it up to 6,000.

How would it look if you put out to the world that the Grenadian black man on a little piece of rock was tying down so many American troops. No, you have to say it was Cubans. Black people are not supposed to be able to fight for their rights to that extent. But anybody that have sense know that this Cuban thing is foolishness. I think that we really need to be clear on this because it tells us something about imperialism. And if it is one thing we must constantly be learning is our lesson in relation to imperialism.

### WICKED BEAST

What is the first thing it tells us? It tells us that we are dealing with a most wicked beast. So wicked, that they are killing out the people down there and cannot bring themselves to bring into Grenada, not the WPJ reporter you know, because we could understand that, (they don't want anybody from STRUGGLE to go inside there) but they have not been able to allow themselves to bring in until the last day or two, reporters from their own imperialist newspapers, like the WASHINGTON POST or the NEW YORK TIMES. Why? Because the amount of killing would shake even such reporters



sions that we have learnt out of this Grenadian invasion.

## COWARD

The second lesson to be learnt is that we are dealing not only with a wicked and vicious beast but one that is an absolute and total coward. Look how long they have been cursing what is going on in Afghanistan. Then send the 82nd airborne paratroop division to Afghanistan, or since you curse what is going on in Poland, send them to Poland! But no. You are not sending anybody there, because you know that if you go in those places, you are going to meet your match. Instead, you pick on the smallest country in the world that you can find to drop the heaviest lick that you can manage and even with those licks, you can't even manage the Grenadian people.

Anybody who does not learn from this thing how weak imperialism is, doesn't really understand one of the main lessons. It is vicious, it is cowardly, but if you require troops equal to 5% of the population, nuclear submarine, 21 helicopter gun-ships, jet aircraft to deal with somewhere smaller than St Andrews, somewhere smaller than Hanover, with a population 20 times smaller than Jamaica, then brothers and sisters, believe me, that kind of imperialism is in its dying days. If you can't manage Grenada, how you going to manage the liberation movement around the world, much less the Soviet Union and the

from these imperialist and capitalist newspapers. I want to say that this thing has never been done before in this way. In the Vietnam war, the reporters from the imperialist newspapers actually flew in with the helicopter gun-ships when they first went in. So that the Americans watching their television in the Vietnam war were able to see actual films of what the helicopter gun-ships were doing in reply and in resistance.

In the Falklands, the reporters went in with the British, so that the British people could see what they were doing and what the response from the Argentines was. But on this occasion for the first time, the imperialists have breached their own rules. They have not allowed the reporters to come in and go where they want to go, to see what they want to see. They have kept them under strict and heavy censorship, even after they have allowed them to go in. And they allowed them to go in only as a result of the protest from the imperialist newspapers to the imperialist government, that something fishy is going on and this is not right.

They want to get it over quickly, bring in the reporters afterwards, and any scene where you see hundreds of people dead, then they will say that it was a massacre by General Austin or the New Jewel Movement or the barbarians and butchers that was leadership. So that is the first lesson comrades. Believe me, anybody here who doubts that we are dealing with a wicked and vicious beast is losing one of the main lessons.

I know many people are looking at this thing and saying that no revolution can reach anywhere.

The last time that the imperialists landed troops in an English speaking Caribbean territory that time it was the British — Cheddi Jagan's party had just been elected in Guyana. It won the election and then started to put in place a programme of progressive reforms. That is a little over 30 years ago. When the British troops reached into British Guiana (as it was then), there was absolutely no resistance at all. Within a few hours the British had taken over, by military means, without firing a single shot.

Interestingly enough, they landed at British Guiana with the support of Norman Manley in 1953, after he had just kicked out the left out of the PNP here in 1952; with the support of Bustamante and all the other puppets.... With the support of Michael's father, ... and the Adams man father who was the head of the government in Barbados at that time, Grantley Adams.

So in one generation they have learnt nothing but the people have learnt a lot because this time they cannot even tell us the truth yet about how many Yankee imperialist soldiers have fallen.

## HYPOCRISY

So that the weakness of imperialism must not be lost on us even as we see their willingness and the

ability to intervene. Of course, when it comes to their role, when they killed Allende in Chile there was no question of them intervening because they killed him. No question of intervening in South Africa, where democracy is being butchered everyday, where Nelson Mandela is still in prison and where people are being executed all the time. No question of intervening there to restore democracy and to protect life and limb of American citizens. That is to say nothing of their hypocrisy: saying one thing and doing another thing.

I want to come next to the Cuban position because I know that is on the minds of many comrades, many progressive people who have spoken with me. It is the socialist community — the Soviet Union and Cuba included — the strength of which today is far greater than what it was 30 years ago, that has been one of the main reasons why in little Grenada the Revolutionary Army and the militia can fight the way that they are fighting. That is the first point that needs to be made. It is the working class in power in the socialist community that has devoted so much of its labour and its time to producing weapons to defend the working class in power and to defend people struggling for their rights like in Grenada and Nicaragua and in South Africa where the common weapon being used is the AK.

The second point that I want to make relates to Cuba's response right after Maurice's killing. The



Cubans made a statement on Thursday and many points in that statement were the same as the points in our statement in the Workers Party. They went further than we, and I believe, looking back at it, that they would have given the imperialists a signal when they said that they would be reexamining their political relations with the rulers in Grenada who followed on the killing of Bishop.

Now, the moment that is said, the danger was that the imperialists would immediately seize the opportunity to jump in and invade Grenada while the Cuban comrades were assessing the situation and during the three days of mourning which had been declared.

Comrades, we say it — when it come to helping Ethiopia, Cuba could not be beaten; when it come to helping the Vietnamese, when it come to helping Nicaragua, all people that are fighting for their rights, the Cubans are in the front of internationalism; risking their own lives, risking their own military hardware.

But in this case a serious mistake was made. Over the three days especially the Friday and the Saturday, October 28 and 29, it was possible to send in reinforcements, but this was not done. Whereupon the American imperialists seized the opportunity and sent in their submarines by the Sunday. At this point it would be able to tell me or anybody else for that it was impossible for the Cuban comrades to send reinforcements. Any man who believe that we take orders

While mourning, mourn, but also understand that an attack is imminent. Do something to reinforce those who were going to be under attack. I completely agree with him that from Sunday it would have been impossible because by Sunday the Americans had moved in their submarines. By Sunday they had also moved in place the ships that had been diverted from Lebanon and therefore a blockade was in effect in place. So that revolutionary principles will support the comrades in saying that as of Sunday it would have been wrong to put in any direct reinforcements because that would risk a world war, and our first duty is to preserve peace at the same time as we strengthen the struggles of the people for liberation and at the same time that we defend socialism.

The point I am making, is that if the comrades were in a position to hold out longer then that mass roots movement would have been able to develop more, as well as the position of the governments announcing what had taken place. To develop more strength and therefore be able to get some solution before the military hostilities were actually ended. And therefore comrades, I want to say this, that despite our regard and appreciation for the Cubans — which will always remain — when a man make a mistake, when a man wrong, he is just wrong. And the same way if I were wrong, then I expect that Fidel could be able to tell me or anybody else for that matter. So when he is wrong, we tell him he is just wrong. Any man who believe that we take orders

from Havana' or that we 'take orders from Moscow' after doing service down there, he always said that we take orders from nobody. We only take orders from the Grenadian people made the Grenadian Revolution from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and from the Congress of our Party. And on the basis of those parties in the world which if it wasn't for them, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, we feel that our revolution could not have lasted more than two comrades in the Cuban leadership made an error says. That is the Workers Party of Jamaica and the which has meant that the Grenadian comrades have Communist Party of Cuba. Because of the help and not been able to hold out longer than they have done the assistance that we have always given. so far.

Comrades, I want to come to the question of our Party's role and my role personally. You will hear it said that we are the ones behind the scenes, that we went down there and interfered and that whatever they get down there, we should get the same thing up here.

At the same time of the Grenadian Revolution, before the Revolution and since the Revolution the Workers Party and myself personally have been in such close relations that we have constantly responded to the request of the Grenadian comrades for fraternal assistance and advice whenever they wanted it. So anybody that is accusing us of intervening, or interfering would have to accuse us of interfering and intervening from before the Revolution, and only doing so as a result of requests for assistance and advice, which we have freely given.

In fact, one of the things that Comrade Maurice always said in public, whenever any of our comrades were leaving Grenada to return to Jamaica

## TWO TASKS

On September 23, two calls came to me from Grenada. One from Comrade Bernard saying, "Take the next flight, we have serious problems that we want to discuss with you and get your opinion". And the other from Comrade Maurice in which he agreed, "Come on the next flight", then I could get in on Sunday, by way of the government plane.

For reasons which are still not clear to me, the plane did not come. So I had to overnight in Barbados the Sunday night — the 25th. I got into Grenada on the morning of Monday the 26th, at the very same time that Maurice was leaving for Hungary and Czechoslovakia. So that nobody feels it more than when I did not have a chance to speak with him fully.

I stayed there for the Monday and the Tuesday and in those two days I had two tasks in response to the request for help: One of them was to find out



the full extent of the crisis in the Party and this I did. The second thing that I did was to give my advice how the crisis was to be solved.

My advice in fact coincided with what they had already decided, in terms of the nine points. The one thing that I proposed which they had not fully considered is a way in which the work between Bernard and Maurice could be shared to help Maurice overcome whatever weaknesses he had and help Bernard overcome his weaknesses. So that the two men then would begin to develop more together. What I said to them was that at the beginning of each week both should sit down and plan the work schedule for the week. That is something that I could propose because we do it in the UAWU every Friday evening. Then at the end of the week, we sit down and plan which meetings took place, which didn't take place, why they didn't take place, and then try on that basis to overcome the weaknesses that were identified. Comrade Maurice which he agreed with — that wasn't sufficiently organised in terms of keeping appointments, and fulfilling the work and the tasks that were set. On the other hand, I proposed that Bernard's weakness was insufficient contact with ordinary people. In that way, Maurice would overcome the weakness of being insufficiently organised and Bernard overcome the weakness of being insufficiently in touch with the people.

So comrades, on the question of our role, I

prepare for the propaganda. Happily, we are the ones who pointed out and announced to the people that we were down there.

The final thing I want to deal with is what is going to happen now. In a way this is the most important, because we need to prepare ourselves for what is going to happen in Grenada and even more, for what is going to happen in Jamaica. The first thing comrades, is the lies and the propaganda. If I was in the position of the imperialists, instead of showing the hundreds of dead I would show you celebrations, festivity, carnival and jumping up.

Of course there will be a section of the people that are very happy. In every country that a revolution is being made and the revolutionary process is going forward, you are going to find a section of the people who don't support it. And even if nobody is celebrating, you will be able to find some people who will go on as if they are celebrating in order to get a money or in order to get certain benefits.

The second thing to expect is photographs of more so-called Cuban bases. Of course, there is a lot of arms but then if there was not a lot of arms, how would the Revolution have been able to defend itself against imperialism. And if there was not to be any invasion, then what has taken place? So there is a lot of arms to defend the Revolution.

What they will not be able to produce is the

kinds of weapon and military hardware which are not associated with defending a revolution, but rather with carrying it to a next country. Where was the helicopter gun-ship in Grenada waiting to go to St Lucia or to Barbados? Where were the coastguard ships to transport people to interfere in Barbados' affairs? Grenada to my certain knowledge had a total of two coast guard vessels. That is less than Jamaica and each one of them is smaller than what we have. That could not invade anybody.

You can also expect a puppet government. Of course there are all kinds of counter-revolutionaries flying in from the United States to be part of that government and soon after this, whether six months to one year, you are going to have face-card elections. Free and fair elections — the same kind of free and fair elections, free from fear, which the said Jamaican soldiers that are down there now looked after in October 1980 in Jamaica. We remember how fair they were in relationship to the ballot boxes.

### BOGUS BUSINESS

So we know that when you have occupation there is no question of any fair and free elections. When you have almost all the remaining members of the NJM locked up without charge, without trial when you try them in the press and convict them in the press then there can hardly be any fair trial or fair election. The only thing you have is elections like

those you had in El Salvador— which was a total cook-up business; or elections like what you had in Guyana, when the army actually took the ballot box and stuff it with the ballots that are favourable to the administration. So that too we have to look out for, and we have to tell people so that they will understand when the results come out of such an election, that is a bogus business from long time.

### IN JAMAICA

In terms of Jamaica, we have to expect certain things. In the first place reactionary positions among the people are going to get stronger and we have seen that already. Why? Because the propaganda has gone out and it is supported by both the leaders of the JLP and the PNP together that what took place in Grenada on October 19 was an example of butchers. By implication these butchers were communists and revolutionaries. And therefore the position that we should get rid of those people. That is going to get strong. I think that you will see it and feel it.

At the same time, the Jamaica Labour Party leadership, who up until two weeks ago, would not have been able to hold a meeting and get anybody to come there in any large numbers will now be able to hold meetings and to get people to come and to celebrate them as a result of the lies and propaganda; as heroes who saved Jamaica from what happened in Grenada.



Jamaican dollar. It is devalued already but it is going to be devalued more.

It is going to bring a cutback in the budget which is going to mean even less money in circulation: the same devalued money, less of it is going to be out there than now. It is going to mean more layoffs, as there is less people to buy the things and it is going to mean even more businesses closing down as the foreign exchange is short. We have already seen what happened with the sugar factories.

### IMF INVASION

Therefore Seaga has to make the most of the invasion in Grenada. So that while we are looking down to Grenada, he is hoping that we will not see the IMF invasion of Jamaica which is going to be more intense than any IMF invasion we have had in the past. But what he forgets is even though you don't see it, you feel it. That is the difference of this kind of invasion we are going to experience and the one he is showing us at the present time. Very soon people's minds are going to be focussing on whether we can put a piece of meat on the table; give the youth a bus fare or lunch money; whether they will be able to put on a patch on the patch pants; whether they will be able to preserve themselves from madness with the nervous strain that is going to go down in this country when people cannot live.

We are going to go through a rough time, but

it's not the end of the world because imperialism, with Seaga's help, is going to deliver such a lick on Jamaica that people are going to be drawn back to their senses to look at what is going on around them and not continue to buy the imperialist argument about what is happening in Grenada.

That leads me to the conclusion which none of us as revolutionaries should forget. It is this: whatever the revolutionary process, it is bound to experience serious defeats, it is bound to experience setbacks, but it is also bound to rise up again. One thing history proves — history in our country and history in every country — is those two points. No revolution can succeed without experiencing serious blows. But secondly, no serious blow can kill the revolution. It can knock it out partially; it can knock it out for the moment, but it cannot kill it.

Think of the serious blows that our progressive movement has experienced but still we keep coming forward again and you will understand what I mean. The serious blow we got in 1980, when there were comrades who said, "we gone fi 20 years now". But within three years the people, experiencing the subjection to deliverance are turning against it.

We got a serious blow in 1952 when the left was eliminated from the PNP; we got a serious blow in 1938 when the British brought marines into Jamaica; we got a serious blow in 1865 when 500 of us were hung by the neck until death. But each time we

get a serious blow, we knock down for the time, but the people begin, slowly but surely, to gather forces again for a new carrying forward of the revolutionary process. Same way in Jamaica, so it is in every country.

Cuba— serious lick in 1953 when Fidel was locked up. Fidel had to run and leave Cuba, he couldn't stay there. Scores of the comrades died in the attack on the Moncada Barracks on July 26. But by 1959, those who were in prison in 1953 were in power. Chile — serious lick in 1973. Hundreds killed and slaughtered, including President Allende himself. By 1983 it is Pinochet who have to be worrying about what going to happen to him. So it is in every country, the revolutionary process is the same thing. China - 1927, the Chinese revolutionary process got a serious blow, thousands of people slaughtered, but by 1949 the Chinese Revolution was triumphant. Russia in 1905 — 6,000 Russian revolutionaries executed. By 1917 the revolution in power. France — 1870. The first revolutionary seizure of power by the working class in the history of the world; within three weeks destroyed, 17,000 killed by the reactionaries and today, there are revolutionaries in the Cabinet in France.

### ULTIMATE VICTORY

So let us be sad, let us be a little discouraged — we can allow that. But let us also be proud of how

the comrades in this little island that you could drop into St Andrew, have stood up. Let us also be absolutely confident that the period of rough weather that we are going to pass through, and which every revolutionary process has to pass through, must be followed by the ultimate victory. For that victory we just need to work hard; study harder; organise harder and prepare for the day when we will be triumphant.

October 30, 1983



Comrade sisters and brothers. What I want us

to do is to reason carefully and as clearly as we can in relation to the lessons of the Grenada Revolution. I think it is very, very important for us, to consider what lessons we can learn for the reason that at this moment the capitalists and reactionaries are trying to teach us what lessons they want us to learn. If you look in the Cleaner today you see five, six, seven, eight pages dealing with Grenada. And when you look through those pages you will see the kinds of lies, the sort of propaganda, but most of all you will see that they are trying to teach the workers and the people the kind of lessons which would prevent us from carrying out our struggle for our liberation and ultimately for Socialism.

## WRONG LESSONS

Therefore, what makes it very, very, necessary for us to carefully consider is the fact that already some workers are learning the lessons. If I were to give you some of my experiences in the last couple of days, it would point out to you that some of our closest brethren and some of our closest sisters are learning the lessons that the capitalists want them to learn instead of the lessons that they should learn from the Grenada Revolution. One of the reasons the capitalists are trying to teach th

wrong lessons is to prevent the workers, who were beginning to see the possibility of revolution; to prevent the workers who were beginning to see the importance of a Party like the Workers Party; to prevent them coming closer to us and from joining with us. Because they know that if they prevent the workers from coming closer to something that is in their interest, then they (the reactionaries and the capitalists) will be better able to get their way in the coming IMF invasion of Jamaica. Some of our brothers and some of our sisters are taking the message that the capitalist want them to learn, namely that "the Nelson Mandela Worker Education Seminar is not for you" - because the turn out today is not as large as normal. "The Workers Party is something that you shouldn't mix up yourself into". "Communism is a dangerous thing - look what happened in Grenada". "Revolution is not possible, revolution is not a good thing". And because some of our brothers and some of our sisters don't have on their thinking cap, the capitalists are getting them to take their lessons and therefore it means that we have to spend even more time to learn our lesson so that we can defeat the lies that the capitalists are telling. Therefore my talk today is going to deal with some of the wrong lessons that the capitalists want us to learn, and some of the right lessons that the working class should be learning out of the experience of Grenada.

## SERIOUS BLOWS

Comrades, the first lesson that they want us to learn is that it don't make sense to support revolutionary change because revolution is not possible. That is a lesson which every ruling class from the dawn of history always tries to teach because when they teach that, it means that the poorer class of people will be less willing to overturn the system than they would have been otherwise.

Think of the ruling class in Jamaica, they have always said that the Jamaican people, Caribbean people, are not the kind of people to support a revolution. But when the Grenadian Revolution came in 1979 they couldn't say that as much again. Here was a Caribbean people with the same history of church going, same amount of voting for parties in election as we in Jamaica. Here was a Caribbean people who despite all of that did support a revolution in March 1979. They did so even though they knew that other revolutions and struggles in the Caribbean had been defeated by foreign invasion. In particular the revolutionary struggle in the Dominican Republic which was being fought in 1965. That was torn down by American invasion when the Americans sent 30,000 marines to land in the Dominican Republic and to tear the Revolution out of the hands of the people. But even knowing that, the Grenadian people still supported the Revolution in March 1979

So that the argument that Jamaican people and Caribbean people will never support a revolution got a serious blow in 1979 when the Grenadian people gave their support to that Revolution. Therefore, the argument that you now hear and which I have heard, is not so much that the people will never support a revolution. The argument that you now hear, is that even if you have a revolution it is bound to fail because the American soldiers will come in and get rid of it. That argument I am quite sure you will hear among your own workers. "That it don't make sense to start a revolution or if you make a revolution it can't last because it going to get lick down by the American Marines."

## NEVER FORGET

Therefore, I want us to look into this argument so that we ourselves can understand why it don't hold water. When we ourselves understand why it don't hold any water, we can patiently explain to those who are taking it in without thinking sufficiently. The first point I want to make in relation to that argument that "Revolution is not possible because American soldiers are going to come in and get rid of it" is this: that the American imperialist have wanted to come in, get rid of the Grenadian Revolution for four and a half years. The first Grenadian Revolution survived from March 13 1979 until 30th October 1983, despite the fact that



the American administration (first of President Jimmy Carter and then of Ronald Reagan) didn't like it and despite the fact that they wanted to send in marines. That is something we must never forget, that for four and a half years the Revolution survived, despite American military opposition and despite American determination to intervene militarily. We must never forget because right now they are trying to rub out of our minds the achievements of the revolution and we need to write it with indelible ink so that it cannot be rubbed out.

FOR THOSE FOUR AND A HALF YEARS WHEN THEY WANTED TO SEND IN SOLDIERS TO GET RID OF THE REVOLUTION, THE GRENADIAN PEOPLE, UNDER THE PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT, DID WHAT NO OTHER PEOPLE IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN HAD EVER DONE, NOR CAN DO WITHOUT A PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION. THEY REDUCED UNEMPLOYMENT FROM 50% TO 14%. NO OTHER GOVERNMENT IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN CAN DO THAT, NOR HAS DONE IT BECAUSE IT CANNOT BE DONE WITHOUT A PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION. THEY BROUGHT ABOUT INVOLVEMENT OF THE ORDINARY GRASS ROOTS PEOPLE IN THE RUNNING OF THE COUNTRY, IN A WAY THAT NO OTHER CARIBBEAN COUNTRY HAS DONE OR CAN DO. NEVER FORGET THE WAY IN WHICH THEY USED TO DO THEIR BUDGET, INSTEAD OF BEING CONFINED AND KEPT A

SECRET WITH FIFTEEN OR FIFTY PEOPLE IN THE PARLIAMENT, IT INVOLVED HUNDREDS THOUSANDS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE IN ACTUALLY DRAWING UP THE BUDGET, IN DETERMINING WHAT THE GOVERNMENT MONEY WOULD BE SPENT ON AND WHAT IT WOULD NOT BE SPENT ON. AGAIN, AN ACHIEVEMENT FOR FOUR AND A HALF YEARS WHICH NO AMOUNT OF MILITARY FORCE, NO AMOUNT OF THREAT OF AMERICAN INTERVENTION COULD PREVENT.

### NOT THE FIRST

The second consideration that you should remember is this, the military invasion that took place on October 25 and is still going on, is not the first military invasion; is not the first use of arms or military invasion against the Caribbean people. We have been through this before. I want to remind you. In 1795 in the rebellion of the Grenadian people led by their hero, Fedon, the British landed thousands of soldiers - a huge fleet - almost 200 years ago in Grenada. So it is not the first time that they are experiencing the wicked and vicious brutality of foreign military invasion. Later on in 1950, again when the people were in revolt in Grenada, the British Navy again used force to try and keep the people down. In 1974, again, under Gairy this time, the Grenadian people once more rose up, and again the threat of force was used on that occasion in

1974 the Canadians and the British had three warships in St. George's Harbour to intimidate the people from carrying forward revolutionary struggle.

### JAMAICA'S INVASION

So it is with them, so it is with us. In our country, we too have had our invasions in the past. Military invasions which the ruling class don't like to remind us about but which we in our lessons have to remember. We had our invasion in 1831, when they couldn't manage Sam Sharpe, and they brought thousands of troops, sent them to Montego Bay — St. James, to Trelawny, to Westmoreland, to St. Elizabeth in order to crush the peoples' struggle.

We had our military invasion in 1865 in Jamaica when again the local forces couldn't keep them down, and at that time the ruling class sent for soldiers from Canada, from England; and at the time Cuba was still under the slave system, and therefore they sent to the slave-owner's government in Cuba in 1865 to bring soldiers here to crush Paul Bogle and his rebellion.

In 1938 again, once more the Jamaican people had to face foreign forces coming in against our peoples' struggles — at that time for trade union rights, for the right to vote, for the right to form political parties. So I don't want any of us to believe that it is the first time. Not the first time for the Grena-

dians, not the first time for the Caribbean people.

### BRITISH GUYANA — 1953

In 1953 when Comrade Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana (Guyana) won the elections with 75 per cent of the vote — talk about the reason why they invade is because the people don't have any elections — hypocrites! Jagan won the elections in 1953: not one man died, not a bottle broken, not a shot fired and within 133 days the British landed marines to get rid of his government.

### MUST RISE AGAIN

If you look at the history of the military invasions, there is an important lesson for us to learn. That lesson is this: that no matter how often imperialists send in marines and soldiers; no matter how much they crush the struggle at the time, it always rise again. No amount of military force in the history of the Caribbean people, in the history of the Grenadian people, has been able to turn the people away from revolution. *Because revolution is a thing which comes every now and then, like hurricane against the ruling class minority. Nobody can stop it and nobody can bring it before the people are ready for it. It comes now and then like hurricane when the peoples' backs are against the wall; when*



*the people have tried everything else to get rid of the problems they are facing; when they have tried everything else to overcome the suffering. Then, if everything else fails the people turn to revolution and that is as certain as night follows day.*

Nineteen seventy four they had the three ships in the Grenadian Harbour, 1979 the people revolted same way. Nineteen eighty three they have thousands of marines there; 19 how much I can't tell you, but the people will rise again once their backs are against the wall, against the system which cannot help but push their backs against the wall, as we as workers and poor people are experiencing in Jamaica right at this very moment. So that is the second thing that I want us to understand. And to be able to explain it to those workers who feel that, "Bwoy, revolution not possible", we have to show that it always is a necessity and the people themselves recognise that necessity from their experience. Not even from our teaching you know comrades because they never had any WPJ in 1938 in Jamaica when the people rose up. You never had any New Jewel Movement in Grenada in 1950, but the people rose up, and they rose up despite the fact that just 13 years before there was a big military invasion occupying the whole western part of the country. So the teaching can't lead to revolution, it comes as a result of the experiences of the people. So don't want anybody inside here to be demoralised or feel that things are lost forever.

## TO SURVIVE

The third point I want to make on this question of 'Revolution not being possible because of what happened in Grenada', is this. After a revolution takes place, the revolution (especially if we are talking about a peoples' revolution) is able to defend itself successfully when three conditions are met. When you don't have those three conditions then you are in serious worries and the revolution can be overturned by the ruling classes which always continues to try and get back in. You now need to learn the lesson as to what the three conditions which ensures that once the revolution is victorious, no matter what, it will survive and grow to benefit the people.

## MASS SUPPORT

First it needs to have and it needs to keep the support of the majority of the masses of the people. This is the first point. Notice comrades I say the majority not everybody; not everybody by any means.

In fact no matter how oppressive the system, you will always find amongst the lower classes — because the system crushes them, because it makes some backward, because it makes some afraid — you will always find amongst the oppressed people, a substantial minority willing and ready to defend the oppressor and we know that. In Jamaica at this very moment, there are brothers and sisters in the work centres with us who literally have their guts being

dug out by the price increases coming from imperialism, threatened by lay-off by imperialism and reaction, whose children and youth can't get any work because of the system of imperialism and the reaction policies of Seaga and some of the same brethren and sisters, will defend imperialism and reaction until their dying days. So we know that. But I want us to understand, because if you don't understand that that is a law of history — you will get demoralised by it. It is a law of history (just like how you have a law of gravity, that if you walk off this roof you are going to drop and break your foot); it is a law of history and it is a law of society that no matter how oppressive the system, you are going to find among the oppressed, defenders of the system. Therefore, I say that the first condition for the revolution to keep itself alive is that the masses must support it in the majority, not everybody, because you are never going to get that.

### WEAPONS

The second condition for the revolution to keep itself alive is weapons. Weapons available to the masses of the people to defend themselves against the reactionaries who always have weapons available to them. No revolution can survive, if the majority of the masses support it but they don't have anything in their hands to defend it. That again is another law. The people must have weapons, they cannot rely on the army

alone, they must themselves be able to get weapons to defend the peoples' revolution that is giving them mastery over their own lives, reducing unemployment and increasing their economic and social conditions.

### UNITY

The third condition that every revolution if it going to defeat the counter revolution, is unity in the party that is guiding and leading the revolution. Unity in the vanguard. That is unity among the best of the workers, the best of the farmers, the best of the women, the best of the youth who are united in the party, in the interest of defending the revolution. And if you look at any revolutionary process in history, especially in the modern world, you will find that where those three conditions are met, no matter how much imperialism wants to threaten it cannot defeat the revolution. Look at Cuba. For at least 23 years now, the Americans have wanted to go into Cuba militarily, to do in Cuba what they have done in Grenada. But it cannot, because the three conditions are there. The masses in the majority support the revolution; the masses have weapons available to them to defend every yard, every street corner, to defend every village and district, to defend every factory, and thirdly the Party is united. In Nicaragua at this moment, the conditions also exist.



## AFTER OCTOBER 19

Again what we are seeing in Grenada confirms the point about the three conditions that are necessary. American military intervention could not take place before the week of October 19 to the 25th, because up until that time, the three conditions were met: the majority of the masses in support, weapons available to the people and unity in the party. After the killing of Maurice on October 19 unity remains in the vanguard. No question about that; the party was totally united on the need to continue the People's Revolution even in these most difficult conditions. Weapons were there, but the masses of the people were confused as to exactly what had happened because what they were hearing from Barbados, what they were hearing from Trinidad, what they were hearing from every other radio station other than their own Radio Station was that he was executed, he was shot in a confrontation where he took up arms along with others against the Revolution. That made a lot of people hesitate. And in that moment of the people hesitating, despite the weapons, despite the unity in the party and despite the unity in the army, imperialism got the chance that they had not been able to get until that point because all the pre-conditions for defeating counter-revolution had existed until that point.

I really want us to understand this because if we

don't, we will somehow believe that no small country, no country close to the United States, no country in the Caribbean can make a revolution and defend it. This is not so. ANY COUNTRY, ANY PEOPLE CAN MAKE A REVOLUTION AND DEFEND IT. SO LONG AS THE PEOPLE GIVE IT SUPPORT. SO LONG AS THE PEOPLE HAVE WEAPONS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AND SO LONG AS THE PARTY THAT GUIDES AND LEADS IS UNITED IN A SCIENTIFIC WAY IN HELPING THE PEOPLE TO DEFEND WHAT IS IN THEIR INTERESTS.

## COUNTER-REVOLUTION

### MORE VIOLENT

The second lesson that the ruling class is trying to teach, so that we can turn away, is that revolution, even where it is possible, is not a good thing and this is the second line of argument that they carry and the workers drink it in without even thinking. Why is it not a good thing? According to them, they say, "look what happened in Grenada. Look how much violence it bring. Look how bloody it is." Most of all they tell you, "once you start to make a revolution, the communists inside of the party or inside of the revolutionary process will get rid of you if you just blink an eyelid or if you show that you are soft" - the labourite line. Some PNP just drink it in.

The first thing Comrades, that you need to understand, is that in Grenada, just as in the history of Jamaica, in the history of any country that you name, it is the counter-revolution that is a thousand times more violent than the revolution. If you look at Grenada, the example that they are using now, on October 19, 17 people were killed, including Maurice, three Cabinet ministers and 13 others. On October 24, the Monday, everybody now agrees, including the NEW YORK TIMES of November 6 which accused the American government of lying to the American people and to the world about Grenada; one of the things that that article points out and which everybody has agreed to, is that on October 24 life in Grenada was returning to normal. Businesses were opened, banks were opened, the Medical School at which the Americans were studying, the head of the school was saying that the students were not in any danger; American diplomats and British diplomats were allowed to come into the country to see for themselves; Pearls airport was opened, the British had four planes in Barbados to go to Grenada to take out any of their citizens who wanted to leave, all of that showing no violence and bloodshed, no lawlessness. The weekend before, the CARICOM countries had sent letters requesting a fact finding team to go into Grenada and see whether there was any anarchy and bloodshed. So that on October 24, the day before the invasion of Grenada, there was no threat to life, there was no violence,

there was no bloodshed. But Reagan and Seaga and Eugenia Charles had already made their decision not to protect life or to protect democracy in Grenada but rather to get rid of the Revolution that was showing the Caribbean people that they can make revolution and that they can make the society to benefit themselves.

### HYPOCRISY

-If you really want to expose the hypocrisy of this thing about revolution being violent, let us just look at the figures. In the four and a half years of the Grenadian Revolution, from March 13, 1979 until October 30, 1983, the total number of people killed was 19. In four and a half days of counter-revolution, in four and a half days of Seaga, Reagan and Eugenia Charles' invasion, the lowest estimate of the number of people killed is 200. That is the estimate of the BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION (BBC) the ruling class station in England.

Now comrades I want us to really consider this thing seriously, because what you hear out there is how revolution is total violence, bloodshed fire and brimstone and mayhem. What the Grenadian Revolution showed is that this is not so. It is the counter-revolution that has to be this way because the counter-revolution is not serving the interests of the majority. It is serving the interests of the minority and therefore needs to be violent



and the police. In 1938, let us remember, 12 people died. All 12 killed, not by the revolutionaries, but by the colonial police and the reactionaries. We must never forget that.

In 1865 - I have to drive home this message so that you can really begin to show man who understand and are willing to listen to points - when Paul Bogle rose up in St. Thomas, the total number of the ruling class that was killed, because they resisted and tried to prevent him from getting his just rights, were 22. Minimum total number that the counter-revolution killed to try and keep down the people and crush them, minimum estimate, 439 in two weeks. They hanged the people all over St. Thomas; burnt down 1000 houses in two weeks and whiplashed hundreds.

The same thing in 1831. So we can see from our history that it is the revolutionaries representing the majority of people, who try to get rights and justice by peace. It is the reactionaries, representing the minority, who have to resort to violence and to bloodshed in order to keep the people down.

## DIFFERENCES

The argument goes further. What they are also saying is that within the revolutionary government or within a revolutionary party, what happened to Maurice Bishop is bound to happen to Michael Manley or to anybody else similar to

to keep down the majority, whereas the revolution serving the interests of the majority and basing itself on the majority need not be as violent as that because it has the people with it.

This experience in Grenada is no different from the experience in every other revolutionary struggle in any part of the world. They don't tell you that it is the counter-revolutionary or the reactionary that brings forth the blood. If you look at our own history. Look at 1980 comrades; can any one of us in this room tell us if it was the communists killing off the people; the revolutionaries that were killing off the people; the democratic socialists that were killing off the people; or was it the gunmen of the reactionaries with the weapons imported into the country from the United States and from the CIA. So, even in our own experience we have seen that it is not the revolutionaries that want or bring about war, but the reactionaries.

## LAW OF HISTORY

If we go further back - and this again is a law of history - not an accident. In 1938 in Jamaica, the people again rose up in revolution from North to South, from East to West there wasn't a village or district where the people were not saying 'time come now to mash down this colonial system'. Every road block, telephone wire cut in all of that, those who died were not killed by the revolutionaries, but rather, were killed by the soldiers

Bishop. I want us to go through this argument very, very carefully so that you can be clear in your mind and once you become clear in your mind, you will know how to put it so that those close to you, who are willing to listen, can also become clear.

I want to start comrades by recognising that there is no political party on earth within which you are not going to get disagreement. You must have differences. Within the reactionary Jamaica Labour Party, you have differences between Shearer and Seaga. Within the reformist People's National Party, you again have differences - from the beginning of that party until right now. Between the left and the right. That is also true of revolutionary parties. You must have differences within a revolutionary political party - whether that party is communist or whether it is not. You are bound to have differences. I will talk a little bit about the Workers Party.

When we were taking the decision in 1978 to change from the Workers Liberation League to found the Workers Party of Jamaica at the Congress in December, there were comrades in our party leadership who, without any malice or bad feeling, without any ill-will, felt that this was a wrong decision. They felt that it was too early and that we should wait a little longer. So there was a difference of opinion within the leadership of the WLL, which became the WPJ

as to whether to found the Party in 1978. Again in 1981, when the decision was being taken to contest the local government elections - again there were differences of opinion. Some felt it was too early, others felt the time was right - disagreement. No party has been founded, can be founded or will be founded in which there is not disagreement. If the JLP is like the WPJ or like the PNP or like the New Jewel Movement when it comes to the fact that there is disagreement - then what is the difference between those kinds of parties and the revolutionary party?

## MAJORITY RULES

The most important difference between when they have disagreements and when we have disagreement is that within the revolutionary party, when there is a disagreement, **FIRST OF ALL THERE IS A FULL DISCUSSION. EVERYBODY HAS A CHANCE TO PUT THEIR VIEWS. THAT IS THE FIRST THING. SECONDLY, THE MINORITY, EVEN IF IT INCLUDES THE LEADER, MUST BOW TO THE MAJORITY WITHIN THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.** The majority rules, not only preach, but practice. In the other kinds of parties we know-those of us who have experience of them - the minority need not bow to the majority. Because if the minority in the JLP includes Seaga, then the minority is going to prevail over the majority. Because once the leader



is in the minority - it don't matter whether is him one - it means that his word must be the one to go.

Bustamante 1960: Never forget this thing in the history of Jamaica. The entire conference of the Jamaica Labour Party was of one view, Bustamante was of another view. The majority don't rule. Bustamante simply dissolved the conference and send everybody back to them yard. 'Because I the leader, have this opinion, and therefore I, the leader, must be the one whose word goes'. The conference end then and there.

The People's National Party 1952 : The majority was not in favour of expelling the progressive forces and the revolutionary elements. Norman Manley then said, 'If you, the majority, vote to keep them then I gone. I am going to leave the PNP.' And at that point the majority was intimidated into changing their opinion in order to keep Manley as leader of the Party. There again we see very, very clearly that in those kinds of parties the leader is bigger than the party. The leader is bigger than the majority because inside of the party really and truly you have a dictatorship, just like outside of the party in the country, what you really have in the capitalist system is a dictatorship, whether open or disguised. Therefore the party is like the system that it defends. Where there is a division, the minority prevails over the majority, even if the minority includes the leader. In the revolutionary parties comrades, those of us who

don't like it just have to live with it or go to another party. If you want dictatorship go to a party like the PNP or the JLP . If you want democracy then you come to the WPJ. Because in a revolutionary party the majority carries, whether the leader likes it or not.

### NO ONE MAN

I go back to the first and most successful revolutionary party in the 20th century, the Russian Communist Party. Lenin himself was a minority at different times in the history of that party and he had to bow. Eventually, it turned out that what he was saying was correct, but until the Party discovered for itself that what he was saying was correct, Lenin himself had to bow to the majority inside of the Russian Communist Party, because principle is principle and no matter how much brain you have, within the revolutionary party, the collective must rule over the individual. There can be no one man running the party otherwise you will be breaking the very principles that you are prepared to bring about in the society as a whole.

### PRACTICE WHAT YOU PREACH

I go into all of this because we really need to be clear on principle. Especially because of the confusion that is now being sown outside. The

New Jewel Movement was no different from any other revolutionary party, or from any other party for that matter. Differences within have been there since the day the Party was founded until the present time. Just like how there are differences of opinion within the WPJ. Some of these differences were such that the party leader found himself a minority on a number of occasions. And since the the Americans have captured all the secret documents and are publishing them in the United States and in the NEW YORK TIMES; I am going to tell you something now, which are in those documents, but which you would not know, and I couldn't tell you before now, because until now these documents were secret. But if the reactionaries are able to tell one another about our secret document, then we must tell one another about our secret documents rather than wait for them to tell us lies.

### NOT SUFFICIENTLY FRANK

On a number of occasions Comrade Maurice found himself as a minority in the New Jewel Movement, but as a revolutionary bowed to the majority. March 12, 1979 - the night before the Revolution, I can tell you with certainty, as night follows day, that Comrade Maurice opposed the decision to launch the People's Revolution on March 13. I never intended to say this but those who want to provoke truth are going to get truth and the truth is the truth and I will die for the

truth. The vote was three for, two against and he was in the two. Until now the Grenadian party don't know that, and the Grenadian people don't know that, and that is where history will never forgive the New Jewel Movement for not being sufficiently frank within the Party first of all because certain things will have to stay within the Party. The Comrade opposed the decision and he was voted down and I ask you to consider if on March 12 the revolutionary principle that the minority will bow to the majority was not implemented, there would have been no revolution in Grenada. If the reactionary principle was applied that 'because the minority have in the leader, then the leader's view must prevail' there would have been no revolution because the leader was the minority. So who wants to say that what the leader say must go, will also have to say that there should have been no revolution. Because the application of the principle that the minority must bow to the majority is why there was a revolution in Grenada on March 13, 1979.

I tell you comrades, I have never talked this thing before, it wasn't necessary to talk it. But some people are now questioning the correctness of revolutionary principle and they must know the consequences of questioning the principle. The consequences of questioning that principle is that you are saying that there should have been no People's Revolution on March 13, 1979; that the



has it in America, the revolutionaries must have it in Jamaica. Quoting from the minutes of the meeting of the general membership (full members) of the NJM, Sunday September 25 which was the meeting at which Comrade Maurice fully agreed, after long debate and persuasion, with the changes that were necessary in the Party in order to restore it, to strengthen it, so that it could carry forward the revolutionary process. The minutes state, Comrade Maurice speaking : "He admitted that his style of leadership has led to vacillation, indecisiveness in many cases. He further pointed out that his style of leadership is an error since it calls for a consensus; unity at all costs and this causes vacillation and he is not sure that he has overcome this." Minutes of meeting, NJM Central Committee, September 25.

In other words, Comrade Maurice became persuaded that there was a problem in his leadership of hesitating when decisive action was needed. You couldn't want any more decisive action than March 13, 1979. Because if they hesitated beyond March 13, Gairy's plan to wipe out the entire revolutionary leadership would have been successful and there would have been no Revolution.

Again it came up in relation to the TORCHLIGHT and once again it came up in relation to locking up some of the other people who were planning to overthrow the Revolution. What therefore happened on October 7, 1983 is that for the

unemployment should not have been reduced from 50 percent to 14 percent; that the Budget should not have been presented so that all the people could participate in it.

Later on in the revolutionary process the same thing happened on a number of other occasions. I am going to give you one other example. In relation to the TORCHLIGHT - the CLEANER in Grenada that was spreading lie and propaganda in the way that the CLEANER did it here against Manley. Because Manley never do anything, that is one of the main reasons why we are under this reactionary Seaga. So too, when it came to the Revolution moving against the TORCHLIGHT Comrade Maurice was opposed to the decision at the time. Again in a minority. But once again, recognising the principle, bowed to the majority and therefore not only agreed with the decision (because the majority was in favour of it) but actually implemented it himself. Again a second case where he was a minority but went along with the majority on principle.

## SERIOUS WEAKNESS

Comrades, the Comrade himself was getting more and more aware, especially in the last days, of some of these weaknesses which allowed hesitancy when what was needed was firm and decisive action. And I am going to quote from the minutes. The Americans have the document, reaction

first time the Comrade, having found himself a minority, refused to accept the decision of the majority.

### NO JUSTIFICATION

Now Comrades, I want to make one thing absolutely clear. His refusal to apply the principle which he himself had taught, his refusal to bow to the majority - in this case to the entire Party - that refusal did not and cannot provide any justification for execution. Let us make that absolutely clear in case anybody misunderstands me.

The comrades in the NJM would agree totally with what I have just said. They would agree with it on October 19 and they would agree with it now, they will agree with it in the future, as they have agreed with it in the past. What that refusal to bow justifies is disciplinary measures - not execution. Disciplinary measures, because nobody in a revolutionary party is bigger than the party. Who wants a party in which the leader is bigger than the party go to the Jamaica Labour Party or to the People's National Party or to President Reagan's party, because those parties accept and apply that principle. No revolutionary party does that.

### DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

Therefore, what the membership of the New Jewel Movement voted for on October 13 was that

disciplinary measures should be applied, because not only did the Comrade not accept the decision of the Party, which he had always accepted in the past when he was a minority and which principle he had always preached, but instead and on top of that now had begun to actually incite the people against other Party leaders and against the Party. Therefore, the NJM, to their eternal credit - the Americans have the minutes of that meeting too - those Comrades looked the leader in the face and said, 'Leader we love you, but we cannot allow you to breach principles. Because we love, we have to practice what you preach, even when you are failing to practice it.' So that is what was justified, disciplinary measures and that was what was being proposed, disciplinary measures. What could not be justified is any killing or any execution.

So this lie, and this lesson that the ruling class is trying to teach workers now in Jamaica, "That in these kinds of parties, if you slip or if you skid, you could be leader, they kill you," learn comrades that is not so it go. That is how they want you to believe it go, so that you can stay away from the Workers Party.

The ruling class, I am very sorry to say, is achieving their objective because I know that some of those who were taking out their pens to put to paper are not filling out the Membership Application Form because they are confused on this thing that



we are discussing. Comrades, let me tell you some thing. If it was the case, that any time, I as leader find myself as a minority the man them going to clap my head, then you think I would be in this thing? No way. And because it is not the case, I can be in there and be absolutely comfortable. I know what the principles are and I know how to apply the principles and I know that is how I would like comrades to apply them as well.

So, the principle is, the minority must bow to the majority, whoever is in the minority. When that does not happen and the leader tries to make himself bigger than the party, then the leader must be disciplined. Not killed, not executed, not assassinated but disciplined, and discipline can mean suspension, it can mean expulsion it can mean demotion but it can't mean kill. Because there is no rule in the party which says that that is a permissible thing to do.

Comrades, what I have said here is true of every revolutionary party, it is true of every communist party and I can give you any number of examples to show that when the leader skids, is not kill, or execute, or assassinate, it is discipline. Khrushchev, General Secretary and leader, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU); in 1964 Khrushchev was seen by the Party Leadership, as no longer the best person to lead the Party. He wasn't then killed, or executed. He was relieved of his position as leader of the Party.

In Cuba in the 1960's, a number of the leaders of the Party, who helped to make the revolution began to skid. They weren't executed they were disciplined in one way or another. Those who actually broke the laws of the Revolutionary Government the discipline extended to them being tried, given a hearing and if they were found guilty, locked up. In Poland, in 1981 the General Secretary of the Polish Communist Party, Kania, was determined by the leadership of the Polish Communist Party as no longer carrying out the will of the Party and in the interests of the Revolution. He was not killed, he was removed from his post. He got a pension like anybody else and was able to live and is alive today.

So, this lie that if Manley did skid, the same thing that happened to Bishop was going to happen to him, you need to arm yourself with these facts of revolutionary history, arm yourself with these principles of the revolutionary party so you can deal with it and not wonder if in your own mind whether it really couldn't go so, because principle is principle and what we defend is principle, whoever is involved.

### RUTHLESS

Comrades I go further, it is the ruling class of imperialism, not the ruling class of the revolutionary government, not the ruling class of communism, it is the ruling class of imperialism when the leader skids,

they are the ones that kill the leader. President Kennedy, who killed him? Communists killed him? No. The said imperialists and capitalists killed him. Martin Luther King who they are now shedding crocodile tears for, same thing. And if you go back through the history of imperialism and capitalism you will see that it is the ruling class who is ruthless and have no principles, who will put you today as President, but if you go against what they want you to do they kill you and don't blink an eyelid and then go by your grave and shed eye-water.

Go further back 100 years into American history. Abraham Lincoln. The man who led the struggle to abolish slavery in America, they killed him. If the particular leader is not serving their interest, what they do is kill him, assassinate him and then have years of enquiries which never reveal who did it and then come now to accuse revolutionaries and communists, who always remove their leaders in a disciplined way, as being the ones who are the killers and the violent ones.

Comrades, please learn these facts so you can deal with them when they come with these arguments because they are developing stronger already and you need to have a full understanding to be able to deal with it.

The next lesson they are trying to teach you is that however democratic the revolution is, one

weakness, whether in a peoples' revolution in Grenada or in socialism in Cuba, is that you don't have the right to vote it out. And they are implying by that argument that under the capitalist system, which we have here, you have the right to vote it out, if you so desire.

## AGAINST THE LAW

The first thing is Comrades, no system allows itself to be turned back to a previous system that it has overthrown, to be turned back to a more backward system out of which the people have come. No system allows that to happen. And I am going to start with the United States which is there at this time because it overthrew the system that was there before. The system that was there before was colonial rule by England, which they overthrew in 1776.

Secondly, the system that was there before was the chattel slave system like what we had here, they overthrew that in 1865. So that you have capitalism and imperialism in America today as a system, because they overthrew the colonial rule from abroad and the slave system from inside the country which was more backward. In the United States today, you do not have any right to organise any political party or to preach on the TV or the radio, to return to the system that they have overthrown: the colonial system and the slave system.



If you do that, it is against the law. It is against the American constitution and it is against the American laws.

In that regard Comrades, they are identical to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is socialist today because they overthrew capitalism in 1917 and therefore in the Soviet Union today, you cannot organise any political party or go on the radio or the TV and preach that the socialist system should be overthrown for the system that the people overthrew in 1917. You cannot go on the radio and

preach that you must go back to capitalism out of which you have come, in the same way that you cannot preach on the airwaves in the United States that you should go back from capitalism to chattel slavery, which they overthrew.

You really need to understand this thing because it is one of the arguments that they can really catch you with and I repeat it for you to understand. No system allows within itself the right to organise and preach and to agitate to return to the old system out of which the people have come and which they overthrew.

In the same way Comrades, if you were to organise a political party in Jamaica today, to bring back the slave system that we got rid of in 1834; you would be against the law of the land. You would be against the constitution of Jamaica.

So it is in Jamaica, so it is in the United States, so it is in the Soviet Union. You cannot organise

bring in a more backward system than that which exists and out of which the people have come from the past days that have gone.

I go further than that, this is something that is not sufficiently understood. Not only is it against the constitution, but in order to prevent you from doing it, from trying to bring in the system that was overthrown and to overthrow the more advanced system that has been set up, the ruling class will go to war to prevent that from happening.

In the United States, in the middle of the 19th century, the American capitalist ruling class led by Abraham Lincoln waged war on behalf of capitalism against the support of chattel slavery in order to prevent them from overthrowing capitalism and bringing in chattel slavery into America again. That was in the American Civil War in which thousands of people were killed. The capitalist ruling class, to prevent the slave owners from the southern part of the United States - in the Confederate Army - from being able to reinforce slavery and get rid of capitalism, went to war.

When the Soviet Union, together with the Warsaw Pact countries, had to resort to military means to prevent Hungary from overthrowing socialism and going back to capitalism in 1956, it was doing something very similar to what the American ruling class did in 1865 in waging war against a section of the American people to prevent them from going

back to slavery which was overthrown. When the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries in 1968, had to use military means to prevent Czechoslovakia from going back to capitalism - being subverted by the capitalist /imperialist countries and going back to capitalism - it was doing the same thing that the American ruling class did in 1865 to prevent America from going back to slavery. Same thing in 1981, when the Soviet Union supported - this time no violence, no troops - supported the Polish government in imposing martial law to prevent Poland from being taken back to capitalism. The identical thing in essence to what the American ruling class did in the middle of the 19th Century in preventing a section of their people from going back to slavery, which had been overthrown. So we need to be very, very clear on this and come back to the main point, that no system allows itself nor allows by law or the constitution, anybody, any group, to turn back the system to a previous system that the people have overthrown and to get rid of the system which is more advanced, in favour of the one that is more backward.

The system, voting in the United States today, cannot be legal for a party that wants to go back to slavery. It would not be permitted and so in the Soviet Union it would not be permitted to vote for a party that wanted to go back to capitalism. In Jamaica today, it would not be permitted for you to vote for a party that wanted to go back to slavery.

What is permitted is to vote for parties that either want to improve the system that exists or want to get rid of it to go to a more advanced system. In the case of the Soviet Union you are allowed to vote for candidates ; in the case of the other Socialist countries , you are allowed to vote for parties which want to improve Socialism to make it better

And in the case of Jamaica, you are allowed to vote for parties which want to improve what is going on here and want to get rid of it for a more advanced, not for a more backward level. So that in that regard comrades, there is no double standard, there is no false argument. We need to be clear and understand this thing.

#### OPPOSED

In addition one point needs to be brought out and that is, whenever the time come to move from one system to another system that is more democratic, you will always get resistance from those who benefit from the existing kind of democracy. Remember that under the slave system in Jamaica, the slave owners had rights, they had democracy, so it wasn't that everybody was denied the vote. It was less than five percent of the population who had that right so democracy then applied to less than five percent.

In 1942, and this is something you must never forget, when the time came for Jamaica to get more democracy. for everybody to get the right to vote



under colonialism, the ruling class in this country who nowadays tell you how much they defend democracy, opposed the right to vote going to poor people. It was published in the DAILY GLEANER in 1942 that the poorer class of people in Jamaica should not get the right to vote. Therefore you have to expect that whenever one form of democracy is to be replaced by a higher form of democracy, those who benefit from the lower form are going to oppose it and have always opposed it.

### CAPITALIST RIGHTS

The question that we now need to deal with and which we need to clear up is whether the capitalist democracy that we have here and which Mr. Perkins defends, and others like him, is a better democracy than the revolutionary democracy that was being built in Grenada or better than the socialist democracy that exists in Cuba and in the Soviet Union. I just want to refresh our memories on some of the things which show that capitalist democracy is more backward. More backward than revolutionary democracy and more backward than socialist democracy, so that we can be clear in our minds and not be confused by this argument that here you have freedom and there you don't. I just want to mention two or three of the rights they say that you have but which, under the capitalist democracy, these are rights which the capitalist have, which they keep for themselves and which we can only get the left over, if we are struggling hard enough.

I look first at the freedom of assembly, which is a thing that they always tell you that they have in capitalist democracies. What that means is freedom to meet. How much freedom do we have to meet? Is only one place we are certain to get if we want to meet and that is the Headquarters of the Workers Party of Jamaica. So that when you read the constitution of Jamaica and it says everybody has the right to assemble - freedom of assembly - you see that it does not apply to the workers organisations. The moment you pose the question of where the capitalists can meet you will see how ridiculous it is to say that there is equal rights.

On the University campus alone, there are approximately ten conference rooms where if the big capitalists want to meet with their people, they just meet so. No questions asked, no permission required, because under capitalist democracy the freedom to meet is freedom for the capitalists primarily and the left overs for the workers and those who defend the workers. We have one or two places to meet, they have at least 200. Any of the rooms of the Pegasus, any of the rooms at the New Kingston Hotel, just like that. And that has a lesson for us, it shows you that **THE RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY IS A RIGHT FOR THE CAPITALISTS AND NOT FOR THE WORKERS.**

We come to the next right: freedom of speech. Under capitalist democracy the freedom of speech which they say is equal allows the capitalist to

print over 10,000 copies of their newspaper every-day. The Gleaner in the morning. The Star in the evening. One hundred, thousand copies. It allows the worker to print 10,000 copies of STRUGGLE once per month which means that in any one month while we have 10,000 copies of our paper with our message, they have 3 million copies of their paper with their message and that is equality. That is equality of the rights that you get under capitalism. How can they have 3 million and we have only 10,000.

For the simple reason that they have the printing press; they have the stock of paper, they have the money and under capitalism the workers can never own printing press, have paper and have money like the capitalists, because that is the meaning of capitalism. The workers are the wage slaves and the capitalists own the means of production and the property.

The right to strike is the one that we know about most. They say again that that is a freedom and a right. We sell our labour, that is what we sell to get money to live, the capitalists sell soap sud from Seprod. He sells oil, he sells all kinds of different commodities. When he wants to increase the price of what he sells, all he does - a stroke of the pen - through the capitalist government he either cross it off the price control list or put a new price higher than the one before.

In extreme conditions the capitalist may have to strike in order to get more. In that event he just takes the things off the supermarket shelves or keeps them in the factory. When the capitalist strikes that way, he still gets pay because he has profits from other businesses coming in and big bank account put down from the profit of the present business. No police or soldier or security force threaten him to open the supermarket if him close it down or the factory; yet according to the system we have equal rights. When we strike to get a little higher price for what we sell, which is our labour; the first thing is that we have to starve for the time we strike, because we have no money put down and we have no money coming from anywhere else. The second thing is, the security forces come down on us like thieves. No strike don't take place without police come there and even though one and two may be in favour of the workers, the majority are there to protect the property of the capitalist.

We just have to look at these three rights under the capitalist democracy. The right to freedom of assembly - freedom to meet; freedom of speech and freedom to strike and we can see right away that what looks equal is really grossly unequal, mainly for the capitalist class, with the workers and the poor people getting only the left overs.



## BRAINWASHING FORCE

The big people may claim disadvantage by

two ways.

First brainwashing. And if you want to know how strong this brainwashing is you just go in a bar and ask the man them in the bar whether they have rights to free speech. The majority will tell you yes. So that the first way in which the capitalist keeps this unequal rights is by disguising it as rights and injecting the workers with the ideology that it is equal rights that they have.

The second way that they keep it is by force, never forget this, force of the police and the security forces. Because the law and order are there to ensure that anybody who steps out of the unequal situation is put in place by force.

Just follow the argument in relation to freedom of publication. Suppose we said now, boy it not fair. The capitalist have 300 times as many publications as the working class. Not fair. Therefore let us march and go down to CLEANER, not to take away but just to ensure that the same amount of CLEANER printed is the same amount of STRUGGLE that should be printed. So that the people have a chance to see the two and decide the minds. You wouldn't even reach very far. Because one, you are not suppose to march without

the approval of the law and then when you reach the CLEANER you will find that the law says that they own the press and they must do with it what they want, even when it is unfair to the concept of equal rights. And if you try and put STRUGGLE on that press, the security forces will be on top of you. So that they don't keep the system only by brainwashing you. They keep the system by using force to keep you down when you try and break out of it.

## DICTATORSHIP OF MAJORITY

Which comes to my final point in relation to this. The only way we are going to be able to break out of this backward form of capitalist democracy to get to a more advanced form is by the same means that they use to keep us down.

One, by the political education so that we can see through the brainwashing. Remember we will never be able to politically educate everybody, but you will be able to politically educate the majority one day.

Two, force of law which decree that the press in the CLEANER be opened up, so that workers can get

without submarines but you are going to invade with AK. So you are going to swim across sea. Foolishness, but because the people are not thinking sufficiently, when you see this on JBC TV, you, say, "What is this, must be war that". We tried to show you the foolishness and since that time the NEW YORK TIMES has now been forced to publish today, November 13. I will read one or two sections from it for you.

"There is no evidence that a terrorist training base existed. Or that Cubans had planned to take over Grenada, either in the documents released on Friday (November 4) or in any other materials made public by the administration". - NEW YORK TIMES not STRUGGLE; the capitalist CLEANER newspaper in the United States. Rockefeller's paper. Again quoting from the NEW YORK TIMES. "Reporters who inspected the warehouses the next day said there seemed an exaggeration and that the equipment might have been as appropriate for defence against an invasion, as for export of terrorism".

They are saying it could be either. We know that it was for defence. But for the NEW YORK TIMES to admit that it cannot be conclusively determined that those things were for the export of any terrorism is in itself a serious thing because

their views put out as much as the capitalists and if the capitalists don't like it, by force of the peoples revolutionary police and the peoples revolutionary army.

That is what they call dictatorship. That is what the man Perkins was trying to get me to say - dictatorship of the proletariat. The fact of the matter is that what you have now is dictatorship of the capitalist class and the only way to overcome the dictatorship of the capitalist class is by ensuring the dictatorship of the majority because there is no other way to ensure equal rights.

If you try to do it by persuasion alone - which is what Manley is trying to do - then you will end up like how he ended up in 1980 - as opposition. You will never be able to maintain a democratic system on that basis.

## EXPOSED

I want to come now to the argument that Cuba and the Soviet Union were using Grenada as a base to export terrorism and revolution. Even the capitalists themselves are now saying that is not so. When we had our last Worker Education Seminar, you remember I was trying to show you how foolish it is to argue that you can invade anybody with AK 47; without helicopter gun ships to carry the people; without cruisers, without any frigates,



the whole of the case that Reagan was making out was that here was a base for export of terrorism.

The third point about the number of Cubans. I am going to read from the NEW YORK TIMES again: 'Mr. Reagan says the number of Cubans in Grenada was much larger than the initial intelligence estimates of 400 to 600. He said they were a military force rather than the construction workers that they were believed to have been. The next day, Admiral McDonald said at a news conference that captured documents showed that there was at least 1,100 Cubans on Grenada, all well trained professional soldiers who had been impersonating construction workers. He said 638 Cubans had been captured and 300 to 350 apparently remained at large. Other military sources said as many as 1,000 Cubans might have taken to the hills to fight a guerrilla

THEN LAST SUNDAY (30th OCTOBER) ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE ESTIMATES OF 784 CUBANS ON THE ISLAND THAT THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT HAD GIVEN EARLIER WAS ABOUT RIGHT AND ON WEDNESDAY, UNITED STATES MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN GRENADA SAID MOST OF THE CUBAN PRISONERS HAD BEEN CLASSIFIED AFTER INTERROGATION AS WORKERS WITH ONLY 100 COMBATANTS.

NEW YORK TIMES article continues, "Over

three days the Pentagon estimate of the number of the Cuban force which had met the invading forces seemed to have plunged from more than 1,000 to fewer than 200 including the estimated 13 to 17 Cubans who were killed".

So that the whole thing about Cuban/Soviet export of terrorism is exposed within the capitalist own newspaper.

Of course, the one about the military airport you have not heard again. Because the British Construction firm - is not Cuban construction firm that was building it, the Cuban workers were working on it - the most respectable airport construction firm in Britain, a firm by the name of Plessey Ltd. - said two days after the invasion that the airport that was being built was in accordance with the standards of international airports - no military installations, because a military airport has to have certain things different from a civilian airport. It is different from the normal things you have at Norman manley Airport. It needs to have anti-aircraft weapons defence systems. The British firm said nothing like that was there. So again a big hoax has been carried out on the people and exposed in the NEW YORK TIMES itself.

## REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES

Their reason for doing this is clear. Its a ques-

tion of getting in the first lick. That is how Reagan and Seaga see it. That if they get in the first lick, that it's the Cubans there, that it's a base for export of terrorism, that it's a military base; if you get in that first lick, then even if afterwards it's shown not to be so, the people's minds have already been poisoned and the dirty deed has already been done. The reason they are doing it is not only to poison the people's minds, but to try and destroy and deform revolutionary principles.

There are two principles we should try and use this opportunity to remember. One is the principle of Marxism-Leninism - **THAT REVOLUTION CANNOT BE EXPORTED**. That is a principle laid down from Marx, Engels, Lenin, come right up. Revolution is something that has to grow out of the people themselves desiring to break down the system and to change it fundamentally because nothing else is possible and nothing else has worked. And if you think about it you will see why, because if revolutionary change requires that the working people have to take an active part in running the business, in running the work-centres, if it requires that people have to join the unions, and the womens' organisations and the youth organisations, if it requires mass participation and involvement, then clearly that is something the people will only be willing to do if they are ready for it. It cannot be exported from any other country because what would

happen is that you would get people coming into another country, overthrowing the government, but the people would not be able to make a revolution because they are not ready to do it. So that is one of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, that revolution cannot be exported; and where the people are not ready for it in a given country, it cannot go there.

But the second principle is this — that where the people themselves make a revolution then it is our duty to give it every possible support that they ask for in order that they can defend themselves.

And what Reagan and Seaga are trying to make us believe is that giving support, once the revolution is made in response to the request of the people, is the same thing as exporting revolution which is against the principle of Marxism-Leninism

## HAND IN HAND

So let us look at this argument that the Party puts itself above the people - the argument that we need to be clear on, that **NO REVOLUTION CAN BE MADE ANYWHERE** without the revolution being guided, being led by the most, serious workers, the most serious farmers, and the most serious youth and women organised in the party. Because if you don't have that leadership,



then you will not be able to coordinate the struggle to defeat the enemy and keep the revolution going. That is the law of the science of Marxism-Leninism.

It is also the experience of our history. In 1980 we never had a revolution in Jamaica for the simple reason that a substantial part of the people were ready, but the revolutionary party was not big and strong enough; the Peoples' National Party did not have enough revolutionaries in it and the Worker Party of Jamaica was not strong enough and therefore despite the readiness of the people, there was no revolutionary change. Instead you get counter-revolution — SEAGA. The law of Marxism-Leninism was proven in 1980; it was also proven in 1938 — when the people were ready again. Nobody agitated them. The people agitated themselves. But no revolution, because there was no revolutionary party.

In 1865, same thing; AND THEREFORE WE SAY THAT THERE CAN BE NO REVOLUTION REGARDLESS OF HOW READY THE PEOPLE ARE, UNLESS THEIR BEST SONS AND DAUGHTERS ARE UNITED IN A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY TO GIVE LEADERSHIP AND TO CARRY THROUGH THE STRUGGLE. THE OTHER SIDE OF THAT IS ALSO TRUE. NO REVOLUTIONARY PARTY CAN MAKE OR DEFEND THE REVOLUTION WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE.

What the reactionaries tried to do when you make the first point — that the people, however revolutionary they are cannot make the revolution without the guidance of the party, they say "Yes, yes, see it there! — Want to put the party in place of the people, on the backs of the people". And therefore we have to make the second point right away — that the party cannot make the revolution without the people. The two go hand in hand. What we have seen in Grenada is that the Party made the Revolution with the people on 13th March, 1979. They kept it going with the people for four and a half years. But the moment, because of Maurice's killing, the people wavered in their support at that point it was possible to defeat the revolution.

### SELECTIVITY

Finally, we need to be clear that we cannot make the revolution without applying certain principles, and will not be able to defend the revolution unless we keep applying those principles. The first is SELECTIVITY. Not every man can become a party member. You have to make certain that those who come into the membership of the party are prepared to make the necessary sacrifice, to give <sup>their</sup> life if necessary in defence of the people and in defence of the workers and the poorer class. But comrades, — and this is a warning from the Grenadian Revolution —



your party cannot be so selective, cannot be so pure as to exclude from membership the best workers and the best farmers, the best youth and the best women either because they feel the work is too heavy and they cannot manage it or because they believe that the party is for those with higher education who can read and write big book.

Once the party becomes so selective that the best worker in the factory don't feel that he can join or really get in, something is wrong. It means that it is too tight, and if it is too tight it is going to be weak rather than strong and that is one of the mistakes that the comrades made. And that was one of the things we discussed when I went down there - that the Party needed to ensure that it was sufficiently open, that the best workers, farmers and youths could get into it - not have to stay outside and look inside.

### CRITICISM

Second principle; CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM: Believe me I have come back to this thing as one of the hardest things. There is something about Jamaican society, there is something about Grenadian society, something about Caribbean society which makes criticism and self-criticism one of the hardest things - and you know why? Because the society is the kind of society where everybody wants to be a big man. And if you want

to be a big man anything that is going to prevent you from becoming a big man - you can't take it.

So that every criticism you give is to tear down a next man so that you can get big. And any criticism that you get, you take it as an attempt to tear you down from getting big, and that is what is called petit-bourgeois outlook - a small capitalist outlook.

And therefore it is the hardest thing to give criticism in the right spirit and take it in the right spirit and this is one of the areas in which the comrades in the NJM definitely fell down because when they should have been firm and clear, when they saw the leader whom they loved, and for good reason, going off course they kept silent. But if you really like somebody and you want to see them reach far then you have to with all the tact - we are not saying that you are going to abuse him, are going to curse him; you are going to be very, very, tactful and sensitive, but you are going to say, "Comrade, you are going off course - pull up your socks. And, I tell you not because I don't like you, but because I like you."

October 1982 is the first time the NJM leadership really criticised Maurice for being too soft and not giving firm leadership. But none of the Party members knew anything about it. Only the small group at the top, who then did nothing about it between October 1982, and September 1983.

That's the other thing about criticism. You



can criticise and stay at word of mouth; only you know. You don't apply the necessary measures to correct the weakness - that is something I know better than anybody inside here because the Roman Catholic Church teach me that thing for many years.

Every Saturday you go to confession and say "Bless me father for I have sinned." Then after you tell the Father the sin and he blesses you, you can get communion on Sunday. But then Monday you go back and you do the same thing again and then go back the following Saturday and confess again. So this is an example of how you must not criticise, because if you are going to criticise inside the party and the same thing you criticise the comrade for, he admits it is wrong and then he goes back and does it again and then you criticise again, he admits it - then it is a joke business! **SO THAT THE CRITICISM MUST BE GIVEN AND TAKEN IN THE RIGHT SPIRIT AND IT MUST LEAD TO MEASURES , STEPS, - PRATICAL STEPS TO CORRECT THE WEAKNESS AND THIS WAS ONE OF THE PROBLEMS IN THE NJM.**

### DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

The third thing is **DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM**. The minority must bow to the majority if the minority is convinced that they are right then time will tell and eventually they will be proven to be correct. If the minority can do what

they like in the party, it becomes like the Peoples National Party where there is a minority and a majority and the minority can do what they want to do whether they are on the left or the right regardless of what the majority position is . Again we can see the results of this in Grenada. Comrade Maurice previously bowed whenever the majority ruled over him, but when he refused to bow that led to a trail of events which triggered off the counter-revolution and the defeat which is now being experienced by the Grenadian people.

Finally, comrades, as we said earlier no revolutionary party can allow itself to lose its links with the masses of the people. Of course you have people within the party who are disciplined, and educated politically, but they alone cannot do it. The brothers and sisters who are not so conscious, not so politically educated, not so disciplined, we the party members must have the closest ties of brotherly love, closest ties of organisational relationships with them which means that inside the revolutionary party constant attention must be paid to making sure that the comrades in the party work to build up the trade unions because, the trade union will be an organisation where the majority are not in the party; work hard to build up the women's organisation; work hard to build up the youth organisation, not only to teach but to learn so that the link of the party to the non-party people will be close. Close so that when the non-party people say to the party



people, "We think you are going wrong," the party will hear it quickly because the links are close; or when the party say to the non-party people "Come out to defend the revolution," the people will come out because they know the word of the party from experience, is to be trusted and to be relied on; where the link is weak or broken the principle of the party is not being applied.

And so comrades, let us use the opportunity, the sad opportunity but the opportunity nevertheless of the defeat of the first Grenadian Revolution to learn, to apply these lessons so as to strengthen and to advance our struggles.

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